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535 of the latter quality his face is made completely white. His cos-
536 tume includes a white headcloth in which a frangipane flower has
792 been placed above his forehead, a twig of *don intaran* at the back
796 of his head, and two long blades of young coconut leaf beside his temples. He has on a striped shirt, plaid trousers, and a loincloth with floral motifs in gold leaf imposed on a blue base.

536 The *potet* begins his monologue, which serves the purpose of
792 acquainting the public with the tale to be depicted in the dance.
796 He praises the generosity of his lord, considering himself fortunate to serve the ruler of Pajang. He has achieved such a state of contentment that he feels full before he has eaten and clad in finery even if he has nothing to cover his body. Now, however, he is uneasy, for he has been charged to inform the *dĕmangs* and the *dĕmungs*, the ruler's *pĕpatihs agung*, his chief councillors, that His Majesty is preparing to wage war against Mĕlayu. Nonetheless the *potet* realizes that it behoves him in his position to devote himself to the fulfilment of his duty – which is the reason why he is hastening to acquit himself of his task.

After the prologue is ended the *potet* goes back to the forecourt. Then the *gĕnding Batel* is played. *Batel* means 'fiery', 'hard', and the theme is the sign that the *baris* dance proper is beginning. From the gate to the inner court two *dĕmangs* and two *dĕmungs* appear, the former striding to the south side of the temple grounds and the latter to the north side. The *potet* informs the *dĕmangs* and the *dĕmungs* that they are summoned to the king's presence, and they make ready to set out. They have a presentiment of what is expected of them, and display great self-confidence. With quite some braggadocio they inquire from each other how their attitude falls short. The constant repetition of certain exclamations and vocatives has a highly suggestive effect in creating a martial atmosphere:

536 DĔMUNG: Ho, brothers, you *dĕmangs!* Let us be gone!
539 DĔMANG: As you say! As you say!
792 DĔMUNG: Do not draw back! Do not draw back!
796 DĔMANG: By no means! By no means!
DĔMUNG: What is there to criticize in us? What is there lacking in us?

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DĚMANO: Your stature is too crouched, you do not stand upright enough. 536
Now you are holding yourself too stiff, and your stature is 539
exaggerated! 792
DĚMUNO: What do you have to say now? 796
DĚMANO: That is just right!

After a time the orchestra stops playing, and the two parties 536
take seats on the ground facing each other. Again the *gĕnding* 792
Batel is played, and then the other *dĕmangs* and *dĕmungs* appear, 796
repeating the dance. After the dance has been performed a second time the *gĕnding Biya Kala* is sounded, announcing the *prĕbangsa*. *Biya kala* is the name of an offering which is, for example, made in order to purify a person who has returned from a journey or to greet a prominent guest. Literally the term means 'to pay the demons tribute-money'.

The coming of the *prĕbangsa* is introduced by the *potet*, who is now on his way to the ruler to inform him that he has performed his task. He goes on emitting exclamations of praise, until finally he upbraids himself that he is out of breath as a result of the violence of his prologue. Then he informs the ruler that he has brought his commands to the knowledge of the *pĕpatihs agung*, and invites him to commence his audience.

Next a dialogue develops between the ruler (portrayed by the *prĕbangsa*) and the *potet*, the latter repeating the former's obscure and quasi-archaic idiom sentence for sentence in more understandable language. The dialogue is quickly given a certain turn so that the ruler's name and title can be made known to the public. The *prĕbangsa* represents the ruler of Pajang, known from the *Malat* and other Panji tales. From a monologue of his paraphrased by the *potet* it becomes clear that he is making preparations for a speedy departure for Mĕlayu. His mood of irritation is demonstrated by his declaration that he would like to meet someone audacious enough to ridicule his clothing.

Then follows a description of the *prĕbangsa*'s costume. His head- 536
dress is of the *kĕkĕlingan* or *kĕklopingan* model, named after the 792
high-sweeping black crest shaped like the new moon which begins 796
behind the forehead decoration and gradually broadens, ending

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536 at the *garuda mungkur*. The same sort of crown is also used for the
292 figure of Panji in the *arja* and *gambuh*. His diadem is gilded,
796 hammered leather set with drop-shaped pieces of mica replacing jewels. The decorations at his temples display the *ketaki* pattern. Descriptions are also given of his ear decorations, his breastcloth and other garments, and his creese. Above his breastcloth he wears a neckerchief of the *rĕmbang* pattern with black motifs on a grey-green base. His long trousers are of white cloth, as are also his skirt, his *lĕlanchingan*, and his *kanchut*. A girdle of the same colour and a loincloth of blue cotton inlaid with gold leaf complete his outfit. The *kanchut* is a slip of the *kain* which is pulled between the legs and tucked into the girdle at the back. The *lĕlanchingan* is the part of the *kain* that hangs folded in front. The creese is worn at the back, stuck in the girdle.

536 The *prĕbangsa* asks the *potet* for assurance that no one equals him
792 in the finery of his raiment, the which the *potet* eagerly gives him.
527 Then the *prĕbangsa* announces his wish to consult with his *pĕpatihs*. The *potet* warns him that the *dĕmangs* and *dĕmungs* are approaching, upon which the ruler assumes the *nĕhĕr* dance position, in which the body quivers with restrained tension. Then he addresses his warriors, urging them to train themselves in the use of arms.

[539]

PRĔBANGSA: You *rakrĭyans dĕmang* and *dĕmung*, harken!
POTET: Oh *pĕpatihs*, hear the commands of His Majesty.
PRĔBANGSA: I wish to ascertain your bravery and strength in battle. Follow my commands faithfully!
POTET: So be it, do not resist the will of the ruler!
PRĔBANGSA: I see that you have made yourselves ready without delay for the review of arms.
POTET: Oh *pĕpatihs*, prepare to display your courage and manly strength in competition.
PRĔBANGSA: Now I am convinced of your skills.
POTET: End your dance, *pĕpatihs*, your courage and suitability for battle have been demonstrated.
PRĔBANGSA: Hear now my commands, and follow them faithfully.
POTET: There remains a momentous command of His Majesty. Follow it loyally.
PRĔBANGSA: I cherish the intention to battle with the ruler of Mĕlayu. Array yourselves in battle formation!

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EPILOGUE

PĚRANGSA: We shall not consider the subject further. The formation of battle array has been satisfactorily prepared. Be on your way.

POTET: Cease your practising. You have trained yourselves sufficiently in the use of arms. Set out!

No description has yet been given of the costumes of the *dĕmangs* and the *dĕmungs*. The headdress is of hammered leather with decorations beside the temples and includes a *garuda mungkur*, but not a diadem. Instead, a part of the skull is covered by rolled water-buffalo leather, which gives the impression of a high, bald forehead surrounded by locks of woolly hair. A moustache and whiskers lend a martial appearance to the face. An hibiscus is worn above the ears as a decoration. In their headdress, and also in their behaviour, the warriors in the *baris dĕmang* resemble the *dĕmangs* who precede the ruler in the *gambuh*. Another similarity is the fact that the repertoire of the *gambuh* is chosen by preference from the Panji tales and Middle Javanese historical romances.

The *dĕmangs* and *dĕmungs* have on red shirts with long sleeves such as were worn by warriors before the twentieth century. (Red is still the colour for the uniforms of the village police on Lombok.) Sashes of blue-and-white-squared cloth are worn around the neck and slantwise across the breast. The trousers are of *polĕng kĕklat-katan*, a sort of plaid resembling bamboo thatchwork. The *kain* is pulled between the legs as a *kanchut*, while the loincloth has blue and white stripes running crosswise, trimmed with red, white, and blue stripes along the length of the edges.

A short, broad sword is carried in one hand. The sword is provided with a ring on the hilt, and the reverse of the blade is decorated. There is the usual blood gully, and the sharp side is indicated with white. The other hand holds a small round shield made of water-buffalo hide.

Though, as De Zoete and Spies mentioned, as far as is known the *baris dĕmang* is now only performed on anniversaries in Pura Pĕmayun, in earlier times it was also danced in the street in the village of Bungkulan, a short distance to the east of the town of Buleleng, on the occasion of the purification of the gods at the seashore.

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but not a final solution ..."[2] This festival, too, was without finality. Begun as a cremation to be performed in order to obtain somewhat more blessing on work in future, and at the least not to be troubled by the spirit of Jayaprana, the festival concluded with the hero emerging in greater glory, and even being proclaimed a kind of saviour. In comparison with other cremations the project was, at the outset, simple in plan. The wholesale interest which it aroused, however, expanded the festivities, adding a quality much prized by the Balinese – bustle.

I

Introductory Remarks

THE FOLK BALLAD

The *Jayaprana* is a very widespread and familiar ballad on Bali. The Liefrinck-Van der Tuuk Foundation copy contains a hundred seventy-nine stanzas. The contents are, in brief, as follows: In the *desa* of Kaliangĕt a family is stricken by sickness from which all perish except a son, Jayaprana, who, as the sole survivor, is taken into the household of the ruler, the *anak agung*.[3] When after a number of years the young man's merit has made its mark, he obtains permission from the *anak agung* to choose a wife for himself from among the ruler's subjects. In the *pasar* he chances upon a young woman from Banjar called Ni Nyoman Layon Sari. He marries her, but the *anak agung* becomes enamoured of his subject's bride and plans to have Jayaprana put out of the way. Pretending that raiding pirates have landed at the extreme north-western point of Bali, he sends Jayaprana thither with an army, at the same time instructing his *patih* to kill the young man on his arrival in the endangered area, Chĕluk Tĕrima. Although various signs give Jayaprana a premonition of what awaits him on the execution of the order, he sets out on his way as a man duty-bound. Not even his wife is able to restrain him from going to fight.

Arriving at Chĕluk Tĕrima, Jayaprana learns from the *patih* what his orders are, whereupon he reconciles himself to death.

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After he has been killed the *patih*'s men have a very arduous re-533
turn journey, since nature is preparing to avenge the murder.539
Badly battered, the troops come home. Layon Sari is then asked in marriage by the *anak agung*, but she commits suicide in order not to abandon Jayaprana.

The ballad is known throughout Bali. Many *desas* have one or more copies of it among their *lontars*, and it enjoys particular in-[218]
terest. It is much staged in the *arja*, the folk theatre. The metre lends itself particularly well to the high, thin voices of young girls which people hear with pleasure. For this reason all the young girls in northern Bali know the poem by heart, so it is said.

The ballad has become further known through the activities of the reading clubs.[4] It was published in *Djataju*, a pre-war Balinese monthly, and was selected to be included in part in an anthology of Balinese literature intended for teacher-training courses. Pupils at the grammar schools at Singaraja have staged it as a play in a kind of modern adaptation.[5] Not only is the tale universally known on Bali, but it has also been spread on Java through a Javanese translation, or adaptation, made by Mas Nitisastra.[6]

THE DESA KALIANGĔT

Kaliangĕt lies in northern Bali in the principality of Buleleng, 621
some ten miles to the west of the capital, Singaraja, and a mile south of the coastal road. In every respect, Banjar, which is situated to the east of Kaliangĕt and is the seat of the *punggawa*, or district officer, is a more important centre.

Banjar and its environs, the flat *sawah* area as well as the moun-175
tains beginning due south, were the scene of much fighting in the 621
first years after the war. The resistance movement found a great following among the population there, and in such a situation accidents were bound to happen. The *punggawa* himself was among the victims of the struggle for liberty. The *desa* proved to be reluctant to come into contact with Dutch people.[7] The recent struggle against the Dutch had not been the first in its history:

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133 361 the mountain, rebuilt their village high up on the rim of the outer crater, renamed it Kububatur, and will probably remain there until again driven away by the anger of the volcano.

773 823 According to legend, Bali was originally a flat, barren island. When Java fell to the Mohammedans, the disgusted Hindu gods decided to move to Bali, but it became necessary for them to build dwelling-places high enough for their exalted rank. So they created the mountains, one for each of the cardinal points. The highest, Gunung Agung, was erected at the east, the place of honour; the Batur at the north; the Batukau at the west; and since there had to be one for the south, the raised tableland (Tafelhoek) of Bukit Petjatu became the seat of the patron of the south.[1] The Batur is venerated in its neighbourhood, and 778 823 the Batukau is holy to the villages on its slopes, but it is the Gunung Agung, Bali's highest mountain (10,560 feet) that is most sacred to the whole of the island. Half-way up the mountain is the mother temple for all Bali, the great Besakih with its impressive stone gate and its hundreds of towers thatched with sugar-palm fibre. The Gunung Agung is regarded as the Navel (*puséh*) of the World. It is to the Balinese what Kailasa and Meru are to the Hindus of India. As Mahameru it is the Cosmic Mountain, the Father of All Humanity.

186 772 To the Balinese, Bali is the entire world. Knowledge of the other nations of which they are conscious – China, Java, and Europe – does not influence their belief in the least. They are simply other worlds that have no relation to their own conception of the earth. There is an old manuscript which gives a description of the structure of the world. Although not very highly regarded by scholars, it gives us the popular Balinese conception of the cosmos, especially as it justifies their faith that Bali is the world. The following are excerpts from a free translation:

539 772 "At the bottom of everything there is magnetic iron, but in

[1] In other versions, the mountains from East Java were moved to Bali. In the Tjatur Yoga it is recorded that the Gunung Agung went to the center, the Batur to the north, Mount Rentjani (the peak of Lombok) to the east, Tafelhoek to the south, and Batukau to the west.

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the beginning there was nothing, all was emptiness; there was only space. Before there were the heavens, there was no earth, and when there was no earth, there was no sky. . . . Through meditation, the world serpent Antaboga created the turtle Bedawang, on whom lie coiled two snakes as the foundation of the World. On the world turtle rests a lid, the Black Stone. There is no sun, there is no moon, there is no night in the cave below (the underside of the stone); this is the underworld, whose gods are the male Batara Kala and the female Setesuyara. There lives also the great serpent Basuki. . . .

"Kala created the light and Mother Earth, over which extends a layer of water. Over this again are consecutive domes or skies, high and low; one of mud (which dried to become the earth and the mountains); then the 'empty' middle sky (the atmosphere), where Iswara dwells; above this is the floating sky, the clouds, where Semara sits, the god of love. Beyond that follows the 'dark' (blue) sky with the sun and the moon, the home of Surya; this is why they are above the clouds. Next is the Perfumed Sky, beautiful and full of rare flowers, where live the bird Tjak, whose face is like a human face, the serpent Taksaka, who has legs and wings, and the *awan* snakes, the falling stars. Still higher in the sky *gringsing wayang*, the 'flaming heaven of the ancestors.' And over all the skies live the great gods who keep watch over the heavenly nymphs." [2] Thus we have it that the island rests on the turtle, which floats on the ocean.

As the last Asiatic outpost to the east, Bali is interesting to the naturalist as an illustration of the theory of evolution. In 1869 Alfred Russell Wallace discovered that the fauna and flora typical of Asia end in Bali, while the earlier, more primitive biological forms found in Australia begin to appear in the neighbouring island of Lombok, just east of Bali. Here the last tigers, cows

[2] This is from the *Tjatur Yoga*, a popular manuscript which I translated for the sake of practice on the language. It consists of ideas on cosmogony, mythology, legends of the creation of man, etc., ending in a confused set of rules for cremation and Balinese genealogies. The second half of the manuscript is extremely obscure, full of errors, and appears incomplete, perhaps owing to careless copying of an older palm-leaf book.

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island. I-Tanggú told me this legend of how the land came to belong to the village:

"Hundreds of years ago, long before the Hindu-Javanese settled in Bali, the powerful king Bedaulú lost his favourite horse. Broken-hearted, the king sent the men of whole villages in all directions with orders to find the stray horse. The Tenganans went eastward [2] until, after days of travel, they found the corpse of the horse. The king asked them to name their reward, but their spokesman said they wanted only the land where the horse was found; that is, the area covered by the smell of the carcass. Although the horse had been dead for many days under the tropical sun, Bedaulú considered this a modest request and sent an official with a delicate sense of smell to measure off the land, starting from the place where the horse lay. Accompanied by the chief of Tenganan, he walked for days, but no matter how far the two went, the smell seemed to follow them. Finally the official was exhausted and could go no farther; he said he considered the land already covered enough, and the Tenganans were satisfied. When the official left, the chief pulled from under his clothes a large piece of the rotten flesh of the horse."

I-Tanggú told me the story as we went up to the top of a hill to look at one of the remains of the famous horse; the penis, "which had turned to stone." On the summit, under a large tree, was the relic, a long river stone shaped like a phallus by the action of water. Passing people had left offerings on top of it. I-Tanggú also said that the people of Tenganan are not permitted to work their vast lands with their own hands, but hire other Balinese to do the agricultural work for them. The aristocratic com-

[2] The people of Tenganan claim to have come originally from the district of Bedulu, named after King Bedaulú, near the once holy city of Pedjeng. The Bratan people, a branch of the same family, are supposed to have gone northward in search of the horse. But having failed, they did not dare to return and still live near Singaradja in Desa Bratan, where they constitute a special caste of silver-workers, and where Patimah has her silver shops. The Tenganans still recognize their alliance with the people from Bedulu and make special visits to them at the feasts of the temple of Samantiga. The people of Bedulu also go to Tenganan on special occasions to make offerings.

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who survived the massacre told us she fainted when she was cut in the face by the spear of a falling man. All she remembers was "the cool hissing of the bullets" in her ears; she added: "like music."[1]

The army remained in Bali until 1914, when it was considered that Balinese resistance was sufficiently controlled, and the army was replaced by a police force. The Dutch then reorganized the Government of the island along the lines it had under the Radjas; those who had been favourable to the Dutch, their allies in Gianyar and Karangasem, were allowed to retain their autocratic rights over the people of their districts and were given certain supremacy over other ruling princes, mostly the descendants of the former Radjas. They were made puppet regents, responsible to the Government for the behaviour of their subjects and for the payment of taxes, which they collect through relatives whom they appoint as chiefs, *pungawa*, of the districts under their control. Each regent is, however, supervised by a Dutch Controller, who is supposed to act as his "elder brother" and whose orders are called recommendations.

NOTE ON MAYA DANAWA

JANE BELO in "A Study of Customs Pertaining to Twins in Bali" (see Bibliography) quotes the legend of Maya Danawa and the origin of Delam Bedaulú from the Balinese manuscript *Usana Bali:*

"It was long ago, in the time when the great mountain, the Gunung Agung, had just been made. A fierce and terrible Detya, Maya Danawa, was in power over the land. He was jealous of the gods and did not allow the people to give them offerings. The gods banded together to fight the demon and a war ensued in which many people were killed.

"Finally Batara Indra was able to overpower Maya Danawa, but in killing him his plan was to make him alive again, dividing him into a male and female part, to become the first Radja of Bali. The spirit of the demon was placed in a coconut flower, and on the slopes of the Gunung Agung the gods came and blessed it, and out of the coconut flower they

[1] The official details, dates, and so forth of the conquest of Den Pasar come from the account of a witness, Dr. H. M. Van Weede: *Indische Reisherinneringen* (Haarlem, 1908).

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made to come two children, a boy and a girl, who were called Mesula-Mesuli."

The boy and girl twins married and had children, also twins, who continued to rule in Pedjeng. These twins also married and had more twins, until a seventh generation of twin Mesula-Mesuli. The last male of these twins rejected his black and ugly sister in marriage for a girl dancer, thus breaking the line of royal twins. The last twin born was endowed with great magic powers; he could allow a retainer to cut his head off and replace it without harm to himself. But one day the head fell into a river and was lost, carried away in the rushing stream of a sudden *bandjir*. The retainer in desperation cut off the head of a pig and placed it on the shoulders of the king, who from then on had to live on a high tower and forbade his subjects to look up at him. He was seen, however, by a small child who passed unnoticed and who spread the news of the pig-headed king, who became then known as Bedaulú, He-Who-Changed-Heads.

In the manuscript *Tjatur Yoga* we came across additional details of the great war between the gods and Maya Danawa:

". . . The gods were defeated by Maya Danawa and driven back to where a spring of poisoned water had been created by the demon. The thirsty gods drank and died, all except Indra, who struck the ground and produced a spring of the elixir of immortality, *amreta*, with which he was able to revive the gods." The local of this spring is supposed to be the holy spring of Tirta Empul near Tampaksiring. The gods attacked again, Maya Danawa was wounded, and his blood flowed into the great river Petanu that runs near Blahbatu. Today the waters from this river may not be used to irrigate ricefields because it is believed that rice watered by it will, when cut, exude blood.

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the *penyarikan* tears the palm-leaf in which the text of the oath is written and puts the ribbons of it into a jug of holy water. The man drinks the water and makes a reverence with a flower while he is sprinkled with the remaining water, after which the pot is dashed to the ground and broken. He and his descendants have good reason to be frightened at the swearing of the oath; Krause gives us the following version of it:

". . . Perjurers and their accomplices shall be confounded by every evil and be struck by lightning. When they go into the forest they shall become entangled in the creepers, losing their way, running here and there without finding the right road. Tigers shall attack them. They shall dash against the rocks, their skulls split open, and their brains spill out. On the crossroad they shall be crushed by falling trees. In the fields they shall be struck by lightning from a clear sky, be bitten by poisonous serpents, and torn to bits by the horns of buffaloes. They shall fall into deep rivers where pointed stones will cut their chests open, their bones will be dislocated, and the blood flow from their veins. Their corpses shall sink to the bottom of the waters. When they are at sea they shall be attacked by crocodiles. The Sumdang-Aal and the Peh fish shall bite them and the poisonous sea-serpent Lempe strike them, and sea-monsters swallow them. In their houses they shall be the prey of all sorts of sickness and they shall die unnatural deaths. No one shall help them, and during their sleep they shall die while dreaming, they shall die standing up, they shall die while eating or drinking. Neither they, nor their children, their grandchildren, nor their great-grandchildren, shall again be men on this earth. They shall reincarnate as maggots, clams, worms, and serpents. Such is the curse upon perjury as is ordained by Ari Tjandana and Angasti, and the Eminent Gods of the East, North, South, West, and Centre. . . . They, their children, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren shall know no further happiness from now on."

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CHAPTER VI

532

The Wedding of Rama and Sita (from a Balinese painting)

THE FAMILY

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"AFTER THE WORLD, the mountains, and the cardinal directions were created, and there were trees, fruits, and flowers, the gods made four human beings out of red earth, whom they provided with utensils to work with and houses to live in. Batara Siwa, the Supreme Lord, next made four mature girls for wives of the four men. The god of love, Batara Semara, made mating a pleasure so that the women would be fertilized, and eventually the four couples had many children: 117 boys and 118 girls, who

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grew, became adolescent, married, and had children. But there remained a girl without a husband. Broken-hearted, she went into the forest and there found the stump of a jackfruit tree (*nangka*) which Siwa had carved, to amuse himself, into the likeness of a human being. The girl made love to the wooden figure and became pregnant. Out of pity for her, Semara gave life to the figure so that she also could have a husband, and the couple became the ancestors of the *ngatewél* clan," whose totem is the *nangka* tree.[1]

Another legend tells us that " the gods concentrated to make human beings and produced two couples; one yellow in color: Ketok Pita and Djenar; another red: Abang and Barak. From the yellow couple was born a boy, Nyoh Gading, ' Yellow Coconut,' and a girl named Kuning. The second couple had also two children, a boy named Tanah Barak, ' Red Earth,' and a girl Lewék. Yellow Coconut married Lewék; Red Earth married Kuning; and their descendants did the same until the population of Bali was created." [2]

There are endless tales like these relating the origin of the Balinese to magic or ordinary unions of the eternal male and female principles, elements of great importance in the religion around which their life revolves. Their supreme deity is *Siwa*, the esoteric combination of all the gods and all the forces of nature, he who is the hermaphrodite (*wandú*) in the sense that within him are the male and female creative forces, the complete, perfect unity. Men and women must imitate their gods to attain some of that divine " completeness " by uniting to form families that worship common ancestors in the family shrine of each Balinese household. The various families that compose a village all worship in turn a common ancestor, the village god represented by the " Navel," the *puséh*, the temple of common origin. Family ties are consequently the most important factor in Balinese life; a continuous sequence that relates the individual to his

[1] The author's free translation from the *Tjatur Yoga*.
[2] Korn: *Het Adatrecht van Bali*.

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(gateh), and afterbirth water (*yieh nyom*)[4] are placed in a "yellow coconut" (*nyoh gading*), which is wrapped in sugar-palm fibre and buried in front of the sleeping-quarters (*metén*), that of a boy at the right, that of a girl at the left of the entrance. A fire is built over the place where the coconut is buried and a bamboo altar with offerings is erected over the spot.

At first the child is fed with a porridge of boiled rice flour (*bubur*) or a little palm-sugar and meat from a young coconut. In easy cases the woman recovers on the same day and is able to walk and give the breast to the child. They believe that the first milk is "hard" and indigestible, and before feeding the baby, the mother milks her breast, making the first milk fall on the house wall. The only explanation for this strange idea is the eternal answer that it is custom. Ordinarily, they say, a woman will have "pains in her insides" for about three days, after which time she can perform her usual work. It is not considered that the mother's milk is sufficient for the nourishment of the child; she gives the baby the breast every time he cries, but he is also fed with *bubur*, and even with a banana previously chewed by the mother.

The child is weaned after three birthdays (otonan), two and a half of our years, when the mother puts a mixture of lime and palm-sugar to her nipples; but it is not unusual to see children of four being suckled still.

Special songs are used to amuse or put the child to sleep, Balinese nursery rhymes (*tjetjangkrima*) sung to a slow beautiful tune. Here is an example:—

"Tadpoles, fishes, and beetles from Bedulu, where are you going southwards? To where the boats land. What will you sell there? My insides that have fallen out. How far did they fall? As high as a thousand pigs. What doctor gave you medicine? The one with the beard and the topknot. Where does he

[4] There are special ritual names for the umbilical cord (*sulabir*); the placenta (*djaler* or *banaspati*); the blood (*barak*); and the water (*mokaer*).

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539 live? In front of the little warú tree where the *kulkul* hangs. With what do they beat the *kulkul*? With sticks of heart of sandalwood and *tengulun*. Who beats it? The big ironsmith who is there crouched asleep." [8]

846 After the birth of the child, he and his parents become impure (*sebel*), the man for three days, during which it would be dangerous for him even to climb a tree, the woman and the child for forty-two days. Offerings are made during this time: when the navel of the child has healed; when he is twelve days old; and at the expiration of the forty-two-day period, when the husband, the mother, and the child are restored to normalcy by the priest, who blesses them in an elaborate ceremony of purification.

845 783 The birth of a freak, whether from a woman or from an animal, is an evil omen for the community, the presage of an approaching disaster that can only be averted by elaborate purification ceremonies. But should an unfortunate woman give birth to a boy and girl twins (*kembar buntjing*), the entire village falls under the curse of the "child blunder," *manak salah*, as the dreadful calamity is called. The "incestuous union" of the brother and sister in the mother's womb is a wrong that can only be wiped out by the most complete and troublesome of exorcisms.

As soon as the happening is discovered, the alarm-drum is sounded to declare the village polluted (*sebel*); the temple doors are closed and hung with forbidding pandanus leaves, a sign of taboo (*sawén*), so that no one will enter. No celebrations of any sort can be held and the entire social life of the village is paralysed until the long crisis that ensues is over and the village is again made normal.

The guilty parents and the baby twins are rushed to some unholy spot, generally the cemetery or more rarely the crossroads,

[8] "Tjingtjing koka beduda di Bedaulú, nyaí kidja menglodan? Tiang kadap ka prau. Nyen nyaí ngadap? Iseng basang suba laboh. Lamon apa labohé? Mengtjeléng adjí sió. Balian apa kenubadin? Balian djengot maka kuntjung. Apa mediwangé? Warú tjenek mengantung kulkul. Apa penepakné? Les tjendana, les tengulun. Nyén kenepak? I pandé gedé melingkúh."

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they acquire a decidedly Balinese personality. Centuries of religious penetration did not convince the Balinese that the *bataras* were their gods; they were too aloof, too aristocratic, to be concerned with human insignificance, and the people continue to appeal to their infinitely more accessible local *dewas* to give them happiness and prosperity.

The *bataras* remained remote in the popular mind, regarded rather as deified foreign lords like their princes, and as far as the Balinese are concerned, their functions ended when they created the world with all that it contains. The *bataras* appear in Balinese literature with such human characteristics and are so susceptible to the passions of ordinary mortals that they become merely mythological figures losing their esoteric significance. Typical is the amusing episode in the *Tjatur Yoga* in which Batara Gurú, the Supreme Teacher, quarrelled with Batara Brahma for the privilege of making men:

"After Siwa had created the insects, Wisnu the trees, Isora the fruits, and Sambu the flowers, Batara Gurú discussed with Brahma the creation of human beings to populate the new world. Brahma admitted he did not know how and asked Batara Gurú to try first. The latter then made four figures, four men out of red earth, and went into meditation so that they could talk, think, walk, and work. Brahma remarked that if those were human beings, then he could make men, and taking some clay, he proceeded to make a figure that resembled a man. Batara Gurú was annoyed and made the rain, which lasted for three days, destroying the figure Brahma had made. When the rain stopped, Brahma tried again, this time baking the figure. On seeing the man of baked clay, Batara Gurú boasted he would eat excrement if Brahma could give it life, but Brahma succeeded in making it alive by meditation and demanded that Batara Gurú make good his boast. Enraged, Batara Gurú took some clay and made images of dogs that became living dogs, and wished that forever after they should walk, whine, bark, and eat excrement."

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to tell of personal encounters with *leyaks* in various forms, and from my friends I often heard stories such as these:

"Walking on a lonely road at night, a man from Sayan was confronted with a monkey that seemed intent on blocking his

Leyak (*from a Balinese Manuscript*)

path. He moved to the right of the road, but the monkey stood in front of him and leaped to the left when he tried to pass on the left side. In sheer desperation he grabbed the monkey's tail, but the animal disappeared, leaving the panic-stricken man with the tail in his hands. He dropped it and ran for his life; the fol-

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539 754 lowing morning he went back to the place of his adventure to reassure himself that it was all a hallucination, but there he found a scorched loincloth exactly where he had dropped the monkey's tail."

"Another night, in similar circumstances, three men stole a chicken apparently lost on the road. They took it home, killed it, cleaned it, and stuffed it with leaves and spices, ready to cook the following day. Next morning they found an unknown dead man in place of the chicken, his stomach and intestines removed and the cavity filled with leaves and spices."

"A tiger once ran into the school of the mountain village of Baturiti. The alarm-drum was sounded and the tiger was killed. When the villagers proceeded to skin the animal, they found, between the skin and the flesh of the tiger, a *kompet*, the palm-leaf bag with betel-nut, tobacco, and pennies that every Balinese carries."

"Rapung's uncle, the temple-keeper and a famous story-teller, 792 had great magic powers but he did not practise evil magic. When 754 he was deprived of his office as keeper of the temple because of 539 a scandalous love affair, he created such a disturbance that he was thrown into jail. Although supposedly locked up in a cell, he was seen at night in the village and it was said that often he slept in his own house. He used his magic knowledge mainly as a defence against his enemies, and, as in the case of the Pemetjutan *wayang* show, he gave the names of *leyaks* in *wayang* performances through the Twalén puppet. Once his lamp went out during the performance and, without stopping, he spit on the wick and the light flared up again. He held a memorable battle with a *leyak* chief disguised as a one-winged *garuda* bird and fought him in the form of a baldheaded *raksasa*. He was defied by the chief of Blahbatoeh, a famous witch; the story-teller took up the challenge and turned into a sea that engulfed the *leyak*, turned into a mad motor-car."

754 Most frequently *leyaks* appear as dancing flames flitting from grave to grave in cemeteries, feeding on newly buried corpses,

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173 754 interwoven with fantastic myth. (See page 354.) At the beginning of the eleventh century a Balinese prince became the king of Java, the great Erlangga. His mother, Mahendradatta, was a Javanese princess who ruled Bali with her Balinese husband, Dharmodayana, until the husband, suspecting her of practising evil magic, exiled her to the forest. When Erlangga's father died, leaving Mahendradatta a *rangda*, a widow, she conspired to use her band of pupils trained in the black arts to destroy Erlangga's kingdom. Professor Stutterheim says that her chief grudge against Erlangga was that he had failed to bring pressure upon his father not to take another wife. Moreover, none of the nobility would marry Rangda's beautiful daughter, Ratna Menggali, out of fear of the old witch, and her caste as a Javanese princess required a noble marriage or none at all. Before Rangda was vanquished by the superior magic of Mpú Bharada, Erlangga's teacher, she had killed nearly half of Erlangga's subjects by plagues brought by her *leyaks*. (According to Stutterheim, the sanctuary of Bukit Dharma near Kutri, Gianyar, is the burial place of the famous witch. There is kept a weather-beaten but still beautiful statue of the witch, remembered as the Queen Mahendradatta in the shape of the goddess of death, Durga.)

The following is an extract of the current Balinese version of the story of Rangda (translated from the Kawi by R. Ng. Poerbatjaraka, in *De Calon Arang*):

539 754 "The old witch *rangda* Tjalon Arang had sworn to destroy the happy and prosperous Daha, Erlangga's kingdom, because of fancied insults to her beautiful daughter Ratna Menggali – the noblemen of Daha had refused her in marriage for fear of her mother's evil reputation. Tjalon Arang went with her pupils to the cemetery and they prayed and danced in honour of Begawati, the deity of black magic, to help them destroy Daha. The goddess appeared and danced with them, granting her permission, warning the witch, however, to preserve the centre of the kingdom untouched. The witches danced at the crossroads and soon people fell ill in great numbers.

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"On discovering the cause of the epidemic, Erlangga ordered his soldiers to go and kill the witch. They stole into her house while she slept and stabbed her in the heart, but Tjalon Arang awoke unhurt and consumed the daring soldiers with her own fire. The witch went once more into the cemetery and danced with her pupils, dug out corpses, cutting them to pieces, eating the members, drinking the blood, and wearing their entrails as necklaces. Begawati appeared again and joined in the bloody banquet, but warned Tjalon Arang to be careful. The witches danced once more at the crossroads and the dreadful epidemic ravaged the land; the vassals of Erlangga died before they could even bury the corpses they bore to the cemeteries.

"The desperate king sent for Mpú Bharada, the holy man from Lemah Tulis, the only living being who could vanquish the witch. Mpú Bharada planned his campaign carefully. He sent Bahula, his young assistant, to ask for the witch's daughter in marriage. Highly flattered, the mother gave her consent and after a happy and passionate honeymoon Bahula learned from his wife the secret of Tjalon Arang's power, the possession of a little magic book, which he stole and turned over to his master. The holy man copied it and had it returned before the disappearance could be noticed. The book was a manual of righteousness and had to be read backwards. The holy man was then able to restore life to those victims whose bodies had not yet decayed. Armed with the new knowledge, he accused the witch of her crimes, but she challenged him by setting an enormous banyan tree on fire by a single look of her fiery eyes. Bharada foiled the enraged witch by restoring the tree, and she turned her fire against the holy man. Unmoved, he killed her with one of her own *mantras*; but she died in her monstrous *rangda* form and Bharada, to absolve her of her crimes and enable her to atone for them, revived her, gave her human appearance, and then killed her again."

It is only in the legend that Rangda could be vanquished; the Balinese perform the story of her struggle with Erlangga in a

dancing lessons, once in a trance they are able to dance in any style, all of which would require ordinary dancers months and years of training to learn. But the Balinese ask how it could be otherwise, since it is the goddesses who dance in the bodies of the little girls.

When the girls are ready, they are taken to the death temple, where a *sanggar agung*, a high altar, has been erected, filled with offerings for the sun. The *pemangku* sits facing the altar in front of a brazier where incense of three sorts is burned. The little girls wear ear-plugs of gold, heavy silver anklets, bracelets, and rings. Their hair is loose and they are dressed in white skirts. They kneel in front of the altar on each side of the priest. The women singers sit in a circle around them, while the men remain in a group in the back. Their jewellery is removed and is put in a bowl of water; small incense braziers are placed in front of each girl. After a short prayer by the priest the women sing:

Fragrant is the smoke of the incense, the smoke of the sandalwood, the smoke that coils and coils upwards towards the home of the three gods.

We are cleansed to call the nymphs to descend from heaven.

We ask Supraba and Tundjung Birú to come down to us, beautiful in their bodices of gold.

Flying down from heaven, they fly in spirals, fly down from the North-East, where they build their home.

Their garden is filled with golden flowers that grow side by side with the pandanus, the scorpion orchids, the *tigakantjú*, pineapples, *solí* and *sempol*, their tender leaves gracefully drooping; drooping they spread their perfume through the garden.

Our thoughts shall rise like smoke towards the *dedari*, who will descend from heaven. . . . (See Note 3, page 357, for the Balinese text.)

Soon the girls begin to drowse and fall in a sudden faint. The women support their limp bodies in a sitting-position, and after a while the girls begin to move again, as if suffering intense

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pain, then trembling all over and swaying faster and faster, their heads rolling until their loose hair describes a wide circle. From this time on the girls remain with closed eyes and do not open them until the end of the ceremony, when they are taken out of the trance. With their bare hands they brush off the glowing coals from the braziers, making inarticulate sounds that are taken to be *mantras*, magic formulas, mumbled by the heavenly nymphs that have entered their bodies. From now on they are addressed as goddesses. Women attendants remove their white skirts and replace them with gilt ones. Their waists are tightly bound in strips of gold cloth, and each girl is given a jacket, a golden bodice, and a silver belt, in all a *legong* costume. The jewellery that lay in the bowl of holy water is put on again. The holy head-dresses of gold are brought in on cushions decorated with fresh frangipani flowers, and the girls are guided so that they can put them on themselves while the women sing about the beauty of the head-dresses and the elegance of their clothes:

The head-dress, the head-dress circled with jasmines, the *garuda mungkur* ornament on its back, enhanced with *sempol* and *gambir* flowers, crowned with fragrant *sandat* and yellow pistils of *merak*.

Tightly bound in their sashes they dance in the middle of the court, they dance slowly and glide from side to side, sway and swing in ecstasy. . . .

The *pemangku*, until then motionless and concentrating, now takes a coconut with the holy water about to be sanctified, water in which have been placed various sorts of flowers and three small branches of *dadap* bound in red, black, and white thread. Then he asks the *sanghyangs* to turn the water into an amulet.

The *sanghyangs* begin to dance with closed eyes, accompanied by alternating choruses of the men who sing in furious syncopation: "Kechak-kechak-kechak – chakchakchak-chak! – and by the women who sing:

The flower *menuk* that makes one happy, the white flower, it is – it is – it is white and in rows, like the stars above, like the constellations, like the constellation *kartika*, that scintillates, they scin-

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539 755 tillate, scintillate and fade away, fade away and disappear, disappear, disappear because of the moonlight.

787 796 *Lengkik, lengkik, lengkik,* says the plaintive song of the lonely *dasih* bird that was left behind. Oh, how he cries! He cries, cries like the cry of a child who must be amused, amused by the dancing of the *dedaris. Lengkik, lengkik,* swing and sway in ecstasy. . . .

755 787 796 482 The *sanghyangs* may suddenly decide to go to another temple or tour the village, chasing the *leyaks,* followed by the singing men and women. The *sanghyangs* must not touch the impure ground outside the temple and are carried everywhere on the shoulders of men. They stop at a second temple, where a pile of coconut shells burns in the centre of the court. The *sanghyangs* dance unconcerned in and out of the fire, scattering the glowing coals in all directions with their bare feet. They may even decide to take a bath of fire, picking up the coals in both hands and pouring them over themselves.

[535] When the fire is extinguished, the girls climb onto the shoulders of two men who walk around the courtyard, the girls' prehensile feet clutching the men's shoulders, balancing themselves and dancing gracefully from the waist up, bending back at incredible angles. In this manner they give the illusion of gliding through the air. The temperamental girls may suddenly decide that the dance is over. Then they must be taken out of the trance with more songs; and the *sanghyangs* become ordinary girls again, they distribute the flowers from their headdresses as amulets and sprinkle the crowd with holy water:

539 755 796 Beautiful goddess stand up, goddess, stand up. The singers have come and are singing the *sanghyang.*

Come, goddess, goddess, we ask of the nymphs to come to us for a while and go around, go around.

Oh, beautiful goddess! take the holy water from the altar, the holy, the clear, the immaculate water with frangipani, white *maduri,* white hibiscus and blue *teleng.* The water in the gold coconut, the liberating water, the water made in heaven.

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Sprinkle it over yourself and go and spray the singers. Then go home, go home to the Indraloka.

Go and bathe in the garden and adorn yourself with white orchids, then go home, goddess, go home, back to heaven, and disappear into space, go into space.

The wind blows, fly with the wind goddess; the body remains to take again its human form. . . .

The ceremony lasts for two or three hours, but despite the intensity of the performance the little girls give no evidence of exhaustion and the explanation they give comes back to our minds: the dancers, fascinated by their own rhythm, move in a supernatural world where fatigue is unknown. In ordinary life the little girls are normal children. However, they are forbidden to creep under the bed, to eat the remains of another person's food or the food from offerings, and must be refined in manners and speech. Their parents are exempt from certain village duties and are regarded highly by the rest of the community.

BLACK AND WHITE MAGIC

Every Balinese believes that his body, like an electric battery, accumulates a magic energy called *saktí* that enables him to withstand the attacks of evil powers, human or supernatural, that seek constantly to undermine his magic health. This *saktí* is not evenly divided; some people are born with a capacity to store a higher charge of magic than others; they become the priests, witch-doctors, and so forth, endowed with supernatural powers. The *saktí* can be trained to serve them at will by the systematic study of the arts of magic and meditation, but people whose hearts are contaminated by evil use the magic science to harm their enemies, or simply to satisfy their lowest instincts.

The Balinese use the term *saktí* like our "holy" or "sacred," but meaning, rather, charged with a magic (positive or negative) power that emanates from people as well as from objects like Rangda and Barong masks, or from places regarded as magically dangerous (*tenget* or *angkér*), like caves, rivers, and

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754 The process of becoming a *leyak* is long and arduous and can
787 only be achieved gradually. First the pupils learn by heart magic words from the old manuscripts, which, repeated in rhythmical sequence while in the attitude of meditation, *nglekas*, put the student into a state of feverish trance. This is done while making an offering — cones of steamed rice dyed in certain specified colours, special structures of palm-leaf, amounts of old bronze coins, and a sacrificed chicken of a defined colour. These rites should be performed after midnight in a propitious place for the transformation. Most frequently named locales for becoming a werewolf were the cemeteries, the death temple, the crossroads, the place where two rivers meet (*tjampuan*), where corpses are cremated, in the *balé agung*, in empty lots where people have never lived, in the family shrine, magic spots of any kind.

The pupil achieves communion with the evil deities by degrees, but before he is successful, he undergoes strange tests of fortitude: giants appear to him and pretend to chop off his head with great axes, monstrous snakes will coil around his body, but he must remain unmoved. Should he laugh if mice appear from all corners playing on great flutes, the fruit of his efforts will be lost. The formulas recited during the early stages of training are simple repetitions of the standard holy syllables (*ong, ang mang,* [788] *ong, ang mang*) or meaningless words such as: "*ong, ngong* [539] *breng nengang, ring pang ring pung, sigang sigung, m'ngang m'ngang bem mengung, djingal djingul, leng her.*" Often strange words appear that seem to be onomatopoetic sounds of the animal one wishes to become, as in the case of transforming oneself into the monkey Luntung Bengkur, a favourite of *leyak* women, the formula for which is: "*AH! hrenh hrang hrung, UH! hek kwek kwek,*" repeated three times.

So much for the simple *leyaks* that turn into birds, pigs, monkeys, snakes, or even tigers. There are more powerful and dangerous transformations for the later stages of training, for more defined demons and "*rangdas,*" able to cause all sorts of supernatural phenomena. In my manuscript for black magic there

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were forty-eight sorts of transformations, each more powerful than the last, but also more difficult to attain, often with minute instructions for the favourable conditions in which to try them safely and with repeated warnings that they were not to be attempted by the unprepared. The offerings required were elaborate and expensive; the amounts of money specified often mount into the many thousands of *kepengs*. In these the formula becomes a forceful prayer of self-exaltation:

"ONG! My will is [to become] Sang Kundewidjaya-murti. Fire from my immaculate abdomen, ONG! White fire from my heart, red fire from my liver, yellow fire from my kidneys, black fire from my lungs, fire from my navel, fire from the crown of my head — ang ang ang ang ang, fire from my head flare up to heaven, fire of five colours rise as high as a mountain. All you witches (*leyak, desti, telúh, trangyana*), all devils of the universe, collapse! Fearfully they all pay homage to me, the whole world reverences me. ONG! Nothing can outshine my brilliance — go on [the power of the formula], go on, go on!"

(*ONG, idepakú rumawak Sang Kundewidjaya-murti, midjilaken gení ring serira sasti. ONG, gení putih ring pepusuh, gení abang ring hatí, gení kuning ring ungsilan, gení ireng ring amperú, gení perebuta ring nabí, metú ring siwedwarankú, ang àng ang ang ang ang, djemidjil gení ring siwedwarankú, murub dumilak ring akasa, mantjewarna rupanira miber akú ring akasa, dumilak tedjankú ring djagat, murub kadí gení segunung, sarwa leyak, desti, telúh, trangyana, sarwa buta pisatja, dengen, sarwa mambekan ring djagat, rep sirep, pada nembah ring akú, ONG, sidi swasti bawankú, ser, ser, ser.*)

The release of this magic fire that comes from the lower interior being is an important factor in the transformation. It is sent off to go and cause the destruction of the victim. In the manuscripts often appear phrases like this to drive this force:

"... fly through the air, soar in the sky, ascend, ascend, ascend, fly in circles, go on, go on, go on, go and burn so-and-so [the victim's name], launch my invincible formula."

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754 (. . . teka ber, angawang ring gegana, bidjur, bidjur, bidjur, ser, ser,
787 ser, teka geseng sianú, angenter mantra mawisesa.)
788

[539] With every formula comes a prayer so that the witch can return to normalcy — that is, become human again and reacquire cleanliness. This is done by driving the magic fire back into one's abdomen. Here is a typical example:

[539] "ONG! Brahma (fire) return to my abdomen and disappear [the abnormal state], become human again, clearly human, and there shall be no trouble. Lost, lost, lost, clean, clearly a man."
(*ONG, Brahma mulih ring serira teka sedep telas, muksaning djatí, teka purna, teka udep, teka udep, teka udep, èning djanma djatí.*)

754 Every witch-doctor and even high priests should undergo these
787 transformations in order to know what they have to fight against. I was told by an old medicine-man, who claimed to have tried them often, that the process is extremely painful; it starts with violent headaches; gradually the tongue swells, becoming longer and heavier until it hangs out of the mouth uncontrolled. He added that the transformations are dangerous because, with each, one's life wears away and becomes shorter, like burning up one's soul-power. The Balinese claim that certain people have greater aptitude for becoming *leyaks* than others; women, for instance, require less study than men, and persons devoid of the groove between the lips and the nose have *leyak* tendencies. The *leyak* cult is full of rowdy sexual manifestations; *leyaks* appear naked [831] and with tremendously exaggerated sexual organs that emanate fire. Like the witches of the West, they fly naked over housetops and hold orgies and black masses.

PENENGEN, THE MAGIC OF THE RIGHT

789 Against the dreaded *pengiwa* there is a neutralizing magic used
755 by priests and witch-doctors to protect their clients from *leyaks*, a magic as powerful as that of the witches and consisting of the same elements as the magic of the "left" — formulas (*mantra*) charms (*serana*), and amulets (*penawar, sikepan, pergolan,*

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tetulak). Typical charms are "yellow" coconuts, *dadap* leaves, onions and salt, flowers, rubbings of gold, rain-water that collects in plants, camphor, a lamp burning perfumed oil, twin bananas and twin coconuts, over which a formula is recited. These amulets are often pictures of monsters and fantastically distorted deities, surrounded with cabalistic symbols, drawn on a piece of new white cloth or on a thin plaque of silver or copper, worn at the waist, hung over the house gate or in front of the rice granary. The images drawn on these little flags, called *tumbal*, may represent the weapons (*senyata*) of the gods, or may be pictures of Batara Kala, Batara Gana, or curious representations of that intriguing and abstract Balinese divinity Tintiya, known also as Sanghyang Tunggal – the Unthinkable, the Solitary, the Original God. Tintiya appears often in ritual objects in the form of a nude male white figure, bristling with trident-shaped flames emanating from his head, temples, shoulders, elbows, penis, knees, and feet. His hands are clasped in an attitude of prayer and his right foot rests on a fiery wheel, a *tjakra*. The Tintiyas used as amulets of magic are fantastically distorted, often in absurd positions, with many heads, or simply Tintiya heads attached to abstract and geometrical shapes. "*Rangdas*" and monsters of all sorts used as *tumbals* are aimed to ward off, by sympathetic magic, the ghosts and werewolves that annoy and persecute the Balinese.

The magic formulas of the "right" are most often simple prayers, litanies of names of protective spirits and curses to intimidate and confound the *leyaks*. The examples here are taken at random from my manuscript of *penengen:*

". . . you of the wicked heart, your eyes be blinded, your hands be paralysed, your feet be useless."

(*Ih, deriya mata malem, lima langah, batis djodjo.*)

". . . The high and learned who understand the formulas watch over my body day and night, in good and in bad, they watch over me so that I shall not die in my dreams, die in health. Do not be afraid."

[Text continues on page 347]

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Tumbal

(*Ne manusa luwih pengurúh merta sandi mantra, ngidjing sai, ring awakú petang lemah, ala-ayú, ané nunggú akú apangeda matí ngipi, mati ngawag-ngawag, tan kuwasa molah.*) 755 788 789

". . . ONG! the Original Word, whose brilliance is like the air that fills the sky, a spell is on my house, a great forest surrounded by tigers. A thousand witches bow down to me meekly and fearfully [because] the amulet given to my enemies by the gods is worn out and spoiled. . . ." 539

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755 788 789 539 (*Ong, saremula, sutedjaniya kadi kangin ngibehing akasa, tulah tumpur umahkú alas agung matjan mengidèrim, lèlo tumpuragung siú leyaké membah, sing serana punah pegawen sandelung, paweh dewa punah, teka punah.*)

". . . Ong! ang ung mang ang ah. I am Sanghyang Sukla the Powerful. I descend with the sun and the moon, I am above Kala Rahú. My head-dress has a white diamond and the gods love me. Sanghyang Tintiya and Sarad Manik contemplate me, my parasol is yellow and Brahma admires me. Fire descend! Clean the country and burn all the devils, burn all the witches, burn Banaspati Radja, burn them all! . . ."

(*Ong, ang ung mang ang ah. Arankú Sanghyang Sukla Wisesa, tumurun akú ring Surya amor ring Sanghyang Ulan, anunggang akú Kala Rahú, gelunganakú wintén petak, sarwa dewa kasih, anelengakú Sanghyang Tintiya, wetú Sarad Manik, apayong akú djenar, anelang akú Brahma, metú gení melesat sedjagat, sekuwihning buta peneng, leyak geseng, Banaspati Radja geseng, teka geseng.*)

In many of these formulas the *leyaks*, demons, and even the higher spirits are mercilessly abused and there are often phrases by which the exalted magician places himself on equal footing with the gods and even above them. Thus it is easy to understand why the Balinese fear uttering the formulas and why they feel that only the highly prepared or the naturally magic people like the priests may do so with impunity. Many priests and witch-doctors sincerely believe they possess in themselves powers equal to the spirits', but the ordinary people, who look in awe at all this hocus-pocus, either buy the amulets already strengthened by the formulas of a priest or witch-doctor or, always resourceful, depend on offerings, trances, and dramatic exorcizing performances of plays and dances like the *tjalon arang* or the *sanghyang*, when the deities themselves provide the necessary amulets.

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assumes the Barong shape to make love to her, but she will have none of it and turns into a Rangda to punish his insolence. 754

2. *Sanghyang.* A variety of *sanghyang* is the *sanghyang déling* found in Kintamani and other villages around the crater of the Batur. The girls are put into the trance by means of two dolls representing the deities, strung through their middles by a cord, the ends of which are attached to short sticks tensely held by two boys. The string with the dolls is thus held taut in front of the two kneeling girls, songs are chanted, and the boys go into trance; their arms become rigid and commence to shake, causing the dolls to dance back and forth across the cord. As the boys shake more and more violently, the vibration increases and the dolls leap, whirl, and clash against each other. The girls have become drowsy and suddenly faint, going into the trance to be dressed and dance as in the ordinary *sanghyang*. 787

Another variety is the *sanghyang djarán*, in which the temple priest, the *pemangku*, becomes himself the *sanghyang*, possessed by an ancestral deity, a Gandarwa on horseback. We saw a *pemangku* in Bedulu go into the trance with two boys, his assistants, each riding on small prop horses and dancing in and out of a great blazing pile of burning coconut shells. The *sanghyang djarán* is reminiscent of a trance performance from Central Java called *kuda kepang* — men wearing dark glasses and riding on beautifully stylized horses woven out of bamboo.

3. *SANGHYANG SONGS* (*gending sanghyang*): 539

1. *Wau nusdus:*
Merik sumunung asep, menyan madjegau, ia tjendana hukus maulekan, ia lelinggan Betara Tiga; ia wus matinining, ia menusa ngasti pukulum, ia nurunan Dedarí kendran, ia Sang Supraba, Tundjung Birú, ia Tundjung Birú, ia mengerangsuk meanggó-anggó, ia sesalukin badju mas-masan, ia melitjat miber magegana, ia mengelo ngadja-kanginan, ia djalan Dedarí metangun djeró, ia tamané bek misi sekar, ia sekar emas sandingin pudak, angrek gringsing, ia tigakantjú, manás, solí, sempol, ia, kedapané malelepe; malelepe makebiyur ketaman sarí, lamun nudus Kadewatan, turun Dedarí kendran.
2. *Nyaluk gelung:*
Gelung, ia gelung agung, mebulingker ia sekar gadung, metitis Garuda mungkur, ia, sekar sempol, ia, sekar gambir, sandat gubar anggen susun, merak mekuntjir kuning, payas dané ia mepulilit, mengigal tengahing natar, ia igal dané manggu-pipir, metandjek megulu wangsul.

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5393. *Mangunan sanghyang:*
Sekar menuk mengedanin, *ia ia* putih, *ia ia ia ia* putih mengambiar, buka bintangé diduúr, bintang kartí, bintang kartikané sedih; *ia liyer, ia ia ia liyer, liyer,* buka twara bakat ruruh, ruruh nudjú, ruruh nudjú, galang sasih; *ia ia* lengkik, *ia* lengkik lengkik, sayang san munyin dasihé; dasih nika, dasih nika, tut kalanin, *ia ia* aduh! *ia ia ia ia* aduh mirah! Idewa dadí pangelipur, lipuranda, lipuran Dedarí kalé; *ia ia* lengkik, *ia ia ia ia* lengkik, metandjek megulu wangsul.

4. *Wus mengigal; meketis toya:*
Dewa ayú metangí, Dewa metangí, djuru kidung sampun rauh mengambelang gending sanghyang; ih! Yang Yang Dedarí mung-gah kepesilih, *ia ia* mider, *ia* mider, mider dané; aduh! Dewa Sang Ayú, ngambil, *ia* ngambil tirta sanggar agung, tirta empul, yeh ning Sudamala, sekar djepun angkitang ratna madurí, *ia* putjuk petak, teleng birú, *iwa* mekaria tirta, tirta ning sibuh mas, toya pemastú, pekarian saking Swarga, siratin Ragan I Dewa, raris ketisin djuru kidungé, wus meketis mantuk maring Inderaloka; Mesiram lungga kataman, wus mesiram, mesekar angrek saseh mepatuhan pemarginé muleh; mantuk Dewa mantuk, mantuke ka Suralaya, mantuk maring ileh ileh, angin tarik, kurungania, waluya dadí manusa. Puput.

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water is to bring a small offering — a *tjanang* will do — to the shrine of a god, together with a container of ordinary water. With a few words, and the gesture of wafting the offering towards the god, the god is "asked for water" (*noenas toja*), and the little container is taken away with water now made holy. This simple rite, which anyone may perform in a household shrine, is of course very much elaborated in the ceremony which the Brahmana high priest, the *pedanda*, performs when he is asked to "make holy water," and the *tirta ané toenasa di grija* (holy water asked from the *pedanda's* house) is correspondingly more potent. Whenever the gods are symbolically bathed, the bath-water may be asked for to be used as holy water. Then it is called *banjoen tjokor* (washing water of the feet of the gods). When a supply of holy water runs low it may have ordinary water (*jeh biasa*) added to it to replenish it. This replenishing is called *antoenin*. Incidentally, the Balinese call their religion *Agama Tirta*, the religion of holy water. *Jeh*, *toja*, and *tirta* are the low, high, and very high words for water. In any ceremony several sorts of holy water may be used.

The formal beginning of the ritual was the priest's asking for a favor (*penoegrahan*) of the gods. lest he offend them. This favor takes the form of a flower. The priest recited a prayer-formula over the flower (a *frangipani*), then placed it behind his ear, as a sign of his dedication to the gods. The *mantra*, in the old language (mixed Old Javanese, and Old Balinese) terminated with a Sanskrit phrase:

Wong panoegraha manoearem déwa data anoegrahaken, ngertjana déwa dèwi, ja nama soewaha.

The Sanskrit words, *ja nama soewaha* mean "Honor and hail!"

Next the priest dedicated the bell, also by praying with a flower and placing it on the handle of the bell. He asked Betara Siwa that he allow the gods to come down and "stand" on the bell as their *tapakan* or support. The gods are Betara Isoewara (Iswara) Brahma, and Wisnoe (Vishnu). This prayer in the old language he intoned in the rapid, flowing manner of delivery called *sesontèng*, ending with a chanted line in the Sanskrit:

Pakoeloen Padoeka Betara Siwa, angadeg Padoeka Betara ring tapakan padoeka Betara, anoegerahaken Betara Isoewara, Betara Brahma, Betara Wisnoe. Wong wigenem ja nama soewaha.

Om, there being no hindrance, honor and hail!

Then he asked the gods to be pleased to vouchsafe holy water:

Pakoeloen padoeka kénak padoeka betara anoegerahaken tirta. Wong ja nama soewaha.

With this he sprinkled "ordinary water" (*jeh biasa*) on the offerings,

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using a marigold. With these words he made the water holy, calling upon the Ganges.[4]

When the priest had intoned this prayer, he picked up a flower, smoked it over the brazier, and gently wafted into space the essence of the *sloka*, two verses in Sanskrit sung to a special melody and meter:

Balinese Version	Sanskrit[5]
Wong perenamia perenadiem	*oṃ praṇamya bhāskaraṃ devaṃ*
Sarwa kelesa winasajem	*sarvaklešavināšanam*
Perenamija raksa sanem	*paramādityaśivārthaṃ*
Boeta Boeti para nanem.	*bhuktimuktivarapradam*
Wong Gangga Sarasoewati Sindoe	*oṃ gaṅgā sarasvatī sindhur*
Sapakosi kinandem	*vipāšā kauśikī nadī*
Jamoe Jama jamenandem	*yamunā mahātiśreṣṭhā*
Sarwa joentja menandem.	*sarayūśca mahānadī*

English

Om. Having bowed to the Sun God,
The destroyer of all afflictions,
Having the supreme sun as his beneficent purpose,[6]
The best giver of enjoyment and release.[7]

[4] The Ganges is called upon (Betara Gangga) as the source of holy water, but the existence of such a river is unknown to the priest, whose only association with Betara Gangga is "the God of Water." Also, the phrasing for the macrocosmos and the microcosmos (*boewana agoeng, boewana alit*) is a mystery to him, though he knows that the world in man's body (*goemi di awaké*) is somehow concerned.

Text, taken from the priest's *lontar* (called *Wisana Déwa*): *Pakoeloen mangkin seredah betara, moentjar aken tirta kambenaloe, oepetin nira Betara Gangga, winadahan koendi manik, pinaka oeripin boewana agoeng, pinaka oeripin boewana alit, pinaka soekelaning boewana agoeng, pinaka soekelaning boewana alit, pangeleboeran ipén ala, oesara leboer toemoro, sasab merana, toedjoe teloeh tarantjana, sapataning wong atoewan, kaloekat kaleboer déning tirta kambenaloening betara, sadira aken mentjoer moentjerat, angilangnang dasa malaning manoesa, kenéng sapaning déwata, moeang manoesa wisésa, kasoepat déning tirta kambenaloening betara, moeksah ilang lara roga, sebel kandel, moeang patakaning djanma manoesa, wastoe poenah ilang sidi rastoe.*

Now Lord God be pleased, spurt forth the holy water (called) *kambenaloe*, the gift of the God of Water, in the jewelled pot as container, as if it brought to life the great world, as if it brought to life the small world (interpreted as 'the land and the sea in man's body'), as if it purified the great world, as if it purified the small world, transforming (changing for the better) whatever is evil, whatever is bad, pests of all kinds, illnesses of all kinds, cursed people of all ages. Let them be cleansed and transformed by the holy water *kambenaloe* belonging to the god, swiftly let the water spout and spurt forth, let them be lost, the ten ills of man, of those who were struck by the speech of the gods, or by people with magic power, let them be purified by the holy water *kambenaloe* of the god, let the woes of the invalided disappear and be lost, as well as those of women who are unclean being pregnant and unmarried, and of people who have never matured, let these evils disappear and be lost and washed away.

[5] Sanskrit edited, translated and annotated by Dr. Andrew Yarrow.

[6] Or should we read *paramādityaṃ śivārthaṃ*, which would be "the supreme son of Aditi, of beneficent purpose?" Both readings metrically deficient.

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Om. Ganges Sarasvati, Sindhu,[8]
Vipaśa,[9] Kauśiki River,
Yamuna,[10] the very best,
And Sarayu, Mahanadi.

He told us afterwards that he "dared not understand" these verses. He assumed, however, that the first was to the *boeta* (demons) since they are mentioned, and the second to the gods, as he knows there is a god called Jamoe who sits *kadja* (towards the high center), and one Jama who sits *kelod* (towards the coast). He finished with the chanted formula:

Wong serija mawantoe soeka mawantoe

which he interprets "May the gods be pleased," at the same time sprinkling the offerings with a flower. The Sanskrit of this formula is: *oṃ śreyo bhavatu oṃ sukham bhavatu* (may there be prosperity, may there be happiness).

This finished the making of holy water accompanying the *metjaroe*.

Symbolic sweeping (*Melis*)

Next came the dedication of the *lis*, the intricately composed brush-like creation of young palm-leaf. Held in the hands of a woman assistant, it was ceremonially "cut" three times with a large-bladed knife held in the left hand. The fringes of its "hair" were loosed from the binding, and to them were attached two *képèngs* (Chinese cash). The *tipats*, a woven palm-leaf container for cooked rice in the form of the male and female genitals (*tipat poesoeh* and *tipat toeloed*), were cut open. The priest inserted into them a few grains of raw rice. So weighted and prepared, the *lis* now had to be purified by the three-fold ritual of *tepoeng tawar*, *sesarik*, *teteboes*, (see note 3, page 23). He placed a bit of each of the chopped leaf mixtures upon the *lis*, and then a strand of thread. He sprinkled the *lis*, and one of the assistants waved it slowly up and down (*sampoetang*, sweeping) in the five directions, while he chanted in *serontja* meter:

Wong sang djanoer djini pateka, djinpitan denira Betara Goeroe, tiban mangètan menadi selaka, tiba mangidoel dadi tembaga, tiba mangoelon dadi kentjana, tiba mengelor dadi wesi, tiba maring tengah dadi pemargaangsa, sinembah déning sanaka poetoe.

Wong joerastoe ja nama soewaha.

This prayer, addressed to Betara Goeroe, mentions the metals belonging to the five directions: silver (white) to the east; copper (red) to the south; gold (yellow) to the west; iron (black) to the north; and an

[8] Release from transmigration is understood.
[9] Now called the Indus River.
[10] Now called the Beas River.
[11] Now called the Jumna River.

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alloy (that used for gonga), *pemargaangsa* ("the way of the pure!") in the center. It is repeated by the priest at every reoccurrence of a *lie* in the ritual, and also at the purification *mekeliang* following, in this case, the *metjaroe*.

He proceeded then to the "invitation of the demons" of the five directions, addressing each one in turn at the same time ringing his bell to call them.

To the east:

Lord Sang Boeta Keroena, *manis* is your day of the five day week, Betara Isoewara is your god, stand in this court, here is the food, my gift to you, patties of white rice, meat of a white chicken, cut and the skin spread out as if alive, thus it is here. With your wife, come to eat and to drink. And when you have eaten and drunk, watch over this court, do not bring misfortune. If you do not wish to stay, go home then to Kajangan, each to your home, Sang Boeta Sioe five, fifty, five hundred, ...

At the end of each invitation he intoned the formal *envoi*:

Wong joemstoe ja nama soewaha.

May there be honor. Hail!

The priest said that the meaning of this formula was "if anything is too little or too much in the offerings, go after the offering-makers *toekang banten*), do not go after me." (Dr. Goris suggests that what he means is not to give a translation, but to tell the purpose for which he uses the formula.)

As he finished the individual invitation in a given direction the women assisting him poured out each time onto the ground water from the *tjaratan*, *toeak* and *arak-berem* from the two bottles, libations indicating that the demons are being given to drink. Our priest says that gods and demons do not drink water, and that the pouring from the water-vessel is in order that they may wash their hands after eating.

The invitations to the demons of the other directions were identical in phrasing, only the names, days, gods, colors, and numbers being changed, thus:

Direction	Demon	Day in 5-day wk.	God	Color	Number
East	Sang Boeta Keroena	*manis*	Isoewara	white	5, 50, 500
South	Sang Boeta Kala Djanggitan	*paing*	Brahma	red	9, 90, 900
West	Sang Boeta Kala Pasah	*pon*	Mahadéwa	yellow	7, 70, 700
North	Sang Boeta Langkir	*wagi*	Wisnoe	black	4, 40, 400
Center	Sang Boeta Tigasakti	*klion*	Siwa	variocolored	8, 80, 800

And at the end of the last invitation was added the line

Lerang Sang Boeta Wétan Kidoel Koelon.

Go north (= go home), demons of the east, the south, the west.

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*1796 [783] Often at *metjaroe* a part of the purification is a scraping and sweeping of the ground whereon the offerings are laid out, using a ceremonial scraper (*toeloed*) and broom (*sampat*). On this occasion it was omitted.

Purification ceremony at each shrine (Mekeliangan)

*1796 783 When the *metjaroe* had been dedicated, the offerings were removed, and the priest went on to the second purification ceremony, *mekeliangan*, for which a mat had been spread before the shrine of the Sun. The demons having been appeased and sent away, the place (*tongos*) had now to be figuratively cleansed before the gods were invited to descend. The offerings for this ritual were a typical purificatory set:

● [539]

soetji asoroh
peras adjengan sesantoen
pengoelapan pengamběan
sesorohan asoroh

[782] The priest took up a flower, prayed with it, and sprinkled the offerings. He took another flower, prayed with it, and dropped it into the bowl of water (*penastan*). Then he took bits of the leaf mixtures (*tepoeng tawar* and *sesarik*), and after praying with each one, dropped them too into the water. The bit of thread he cast before him. He prayed, and sprinkled before him the water of a young coconut (*kekeloedan*). With a small brush of palm-leaf, a *peboeoe*, neither so large nor so intricate in construction as the *lis*, he sprinkled holy water before him, and wafted the essence of the offerings "towards Betara Siwa."

This priest has explained to us at other times that "when He sits upon the throne of Soerja, He is called Betara Siwa — when He sits in the *Kemimitan* (the shrine of the God of the Temple) He is called Betara Goeroe." We find this concept recurring in the ritual, and therefore we were not surprised to be told that in offering before the throne of Soerja he was in fact "begging for water" (*noenas tirta*) from Betara Siwa.

[782] In conclusion, water was poured upon the ground from the *tjaratan*, and palm-wine and rice-wine from the two bottles. The priest with his assistants then rose, carrying each one a container or an offering. The little group visited in turn each one of the shrines and buildings in the temple court, the priest himself bearing the young coconut, and at each shrine they sprinkled, spilled, and wafted the essence of the offerings. When they had finished within, they passed through the gates to the [778] outer temple where they attended to the *Panggoengan*, to the shrines on either side of the entrance, and finally to Peretiwi, Goddess of the Earth. The priest squatted down as he ministered to her, for in this temple she has no shrine, she receives offerings upon the ground, the earth itself is her place of being.

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Awakening of the gods of the temple (Tetangi)

The time had now come to awaken[11] the gods, to ask them to come down, and to dress them. "*Jen sampoen mekeliang, dados nedoenang, dados ngiasin Ida Betara ring Nagasari,*" said the priest.

The old man was seated cross-legged upon a mat facing the *gedong*, the shrine of the gods of Nagasari. Before him were placed the *pasepan*, the brazier sending up a cloud of aromatic smoke, a bowl (*penastan*) of water, and the drinking vessel (*tjaratan*) — no offerings. Very slowly, the old man put the tips of his fingers together, and raised his hands three times to his forehead in the gesture of reverence to the gods (*mebakti*). Then he took up the smoking *pasepan*, and holding it aloft, intoned this prayer:

Pakoeloen mangkin manoesan Ida, angatoerin Padoeka Betara toemoeroen, makapangoendang Betara Jang Déwa Gana malingga maring koekoes, menjan madjagaoe tjenana.

Lord, now this man of yours asks you to descend. May you be invited by Betara Jang Déwa Gana to be seated in the smoke of incense, *madjagaoe*, and sandalwood.

(It was explained to us that the smoke is like a ladder (*djan*), that it makes a "way" (*pemarga*) for the gods to descend upon.)

The old man sprinkled from the bowl, spilled from the drinking vessel, and once more holding up the brazier, wafted three times the smoke towards the shrine.

Bringing down the gods (Nedoenang betara)

The old man then climbed up the ladder placed before the entrance to the shrine. His wife stood by, his son and his grandson bearing the two ceremonial parasols. He took out once more from the shrine the little house (*kotak*) containing the sacred *pererai*. Borne upon the head of the priest's wife, and shaded by the parasols, they were carried the few yards across the court to the pavilion (*Pengaroeman*). Here, on the raised shelf above the offering platform, the box was set down, resting upon a small mattress, which in its turn lay on a tiny mat.

The prayer for this bringing down of the gods runs:

Pangoendang para betara ring mertja pada, toemoeli tedoen betara ring Kajangan, pada iniring déning déwa sanaka poetoe, moeang watek gendaroewa widiadara widiadari, mangètan ring pasamoewan. Teka ring désa poerwa, malingga ida ring patarana selaka, mepoepoel ring pasamoewan, moeang widiadara widiadari. Raoeh ida ring désa daksina, malingga ida ring patarana tembaga, mapoepoel ida ring pasamoewan. Raoeh ida ring désa pantjima, malingga ida ring patarana kentjana, mapoepoel ida ring pasamoewan. Raoeh ida ring désa lor, malinggih ida ring patarana wesi, mapoepoel ring pesamoewan, moeang widiadara widiadari.

[11] The priests here do not explicitly state the "awakening" (*Istangi*) as we found in other districts. But when asked if they did "*ngatoerang tetangi*," they said, "Yes, at the time the *pasepan* was offered before *nedoenang betara*."

*796 793 782 [539]

Ring tengah raoeh ida goeroe déwa, ring Kajangan Sakti, malinggih ida ring patarana emas, ratna amantja warna, pada iniring déning watek nata déwata, mocang widiadara widiadari, pada katoeran ida déning manoesa, mocang pada amoekti banten, soemirit sarwa soetji, ring Kajangan Sakti.

All the gods are invited to earth, to come down straightway, Lords, to this temple, all of them followed by the minor deities, their children and grandchildren, and the hordes of *gendaroewa*, the *widiadara* and *widiadari*, to sit together (to the east?) on the meeting-pavilion. Those who come from the east, let them sit on the seat of silver, gathered together on the meeting pavilion, together with the *widiadara* and *widiadari*. Those who come from the south, let them sit on the seat of copper, gathered together on the meeting pavilion. Those who come from the west, let them sit on the golden seat, gathered together on the meeting pavilion. Those who come from the north, let them sit on the seat of iron, gathered together on the meeting pavilion together with the *widiadara* and *widiadari*. And in the center let Ida Goeroe Déwa come to the holy temple to sit on the seat of gold studded with jewels of many colors, followed by the hordes of all the minor deities, together with the *widiadara* and *widiadari*. To all of them offerings are given by the people, and all receive their share of the offerings, sufficent and of all kinds, in the holy temple.

Then comes the Sanskrit verse:

Balinese Version

[539]

Wong sama samoewem mahadewa, sarwa perani winta karem,
mamontjah sarwa papébioh, pala soewa soewa sada siwem.

Sanskrit

oṃ kṣamasva māṃ mahādeva sarvaprāṇihitaṃkara
māṃ moca sarvapāpebhyaḥ pālayasva sadāśiva!

English

Om. Have mercy on me, Great God (Śiva), O benefactor of all living beings!
Free me from all evils, protect me, O Sada-Śiva!

Dressing the gods (Ngiasin betara)

*796 [782]

On the pavilion beside the gods was the *pebersihan*, the toilet-table, already prepared. The two board *tapakan* were waiting on the lower level of the platform. The old priest took up the smoking *pasepan*, placed it for a moment before each of the *tapakan* in turn. When they were smoked, he lifted it again and set it, with the bowl of water (*jéh ning*), at the foot of the *kotak*.

He opened the little doors of the *kotak* and took out a little bundle wrapped in white cloth. He laid it on the *pebersihan* tray. Undoing the bundle he took out two tiny faces, little slabs of sandalwood, the faces delicately painted white, with arched eyebrows of black and smiling red lips, a male and a female. Holding them in his right hand, he took up from the toilet-table a diminutive brush of grass and a tiny flower.

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These offerings are the *matoeran*, the gifts, and distinguished from the *pesoe-pesoean* in that they are not specifically required of the members, but voluntary gifts. Each household may choose what offering to make up and send along to the gods, according to how prosperous the family feels at the time, and to what provisions are on hand. Here the pattern followed is the same as that the Balinese use when they go to visit the palace of a noble, the *grija* of a high priest, or the house of a friend to whom they wish to be polite. It would be unseemly to arrive empty-handed. They come to the temple bearing gifts, so that the gods may be well disposed towards them. Although there is no pressure put upon them to bring these offerings, in this village it is rare indeed for a household to omit sending one of the "voluntary" offerings at the time of the *odalan*, unless they are forbidden to do so on account of being unclean. Women who were born in this village but who, on their marriage, moved away to another, must of necessity offer in the temples of their husbands' villages. But they often return at the time of the *odalan* to give voluntary offerings in the temples of their fathers.

Here the great majority bring the offering called *adjoeman* (food): *telompokan* 2, *katjang-katjang* 2, *tanding*, *bé siap apaa*, *djadja begina barak poetih*, *tjanang genten* 2, *metatakan taledan* (2 rice patties, 2 portions of peanuts, a chicken thigh, red and white cakes, 2 trays of betel, all set out on a round tray).

Arrived at the temple, the offering is sprinkled with holy water, the officiants remove the two *tjanangs*, place them on the central shrine (*Pepelik*) at the feet of the gods, and the priest prays:

Pakoeloen Padoeka Betara, Ratoe Padoeka Betara sepian Padoeka Betara angatoerang sarining boerat wangi, lenga wangi, pingkalih joenan poetih koening.

Wong joerastoe ja nama soewaha.

Lord God, your servant offers you the essence of perfumed ointment, of perfumed oil, together with refreshment yellow-white.

May there be honor. Hail!

Reverence (Mebakti)

The people whose offerings have been dedicated kneel on the floor of the court (or if men, sit cross-legged, removing their head-cloths) and taking a flower between their finger tips make three times the obeisance (*mebakti*) to the gods. Then an assistant comes to them with a dipper of holy water (*banjoen tjokor*), sprinkles them three times, and pours out three times into their cupped hands a little of the water. They drink, they pass the water over their faces, and lastly over their hair. As group after group of worshippers are thus attended to, it would seem that the little bowl of holy water in which "the gods' feet were washed" in the morning would hardly suffice. But the bowl can be replenished again and

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each to their particular bathing-place, just as it is customary for the villagers to go each day some to this spring, some to that, some to the river, according to habit and convenience. Here in the *Poera Nagasari* it is the custom to take the gods to a small shrine (*bedoegoel*) standing in the fields a hundred yards distant from the temple. This shrine is formed in the shape of a water spout, and the difficulty of its being quite dry is overcome by simply pouring in a jar of water at the top, and filling the vessels for holy water from the spout as the water flows through. In this way the water is symbolically "asked for" in the sacred spot.

7 : 20 p. m. The people were rather late in assembling, so that it had been dark for almost an hour when the procession set off to the bathing-place. The *koel-koel* (slit-gong) sounded to call the people to line up for the procession. The gods were taken down from the central shrine, borne on the heads of two women, the wife and the grand-daughter of the old priest. Small boys carried the ceremonial spears, and two men the parasols to "shade" the gods on their way. Other women carried the "regalia" (*bebaktan* — literally, that which is carried): the brazier, water-vessels, the bottles of palm-wine and rice-wine, the *pebersihan*, *rantasan*, and *tjanang rébong* for the gods' toilet. Still others bore the offerings, the usual *soetji* set, with *pengoelapan pengambéan*, *sesantoen*, *pendètan*, and the *lis*. In the procession, those women who knew them chanted the old ritual hymns (*mekidoeng*), as they went along. The rear of the procession was brought up by members of the *gamelan* beating upon drums, cymbals, and gongs, beating out a rhythmic accompaniment to the march, in competition with high-pitched dragging measures of the women's singing.

At the *bédji* (bathing-place), a temporary altar (*asagan*) had been set up beside the little shrine, to hold offerings. The women bearing the gods stood facing the east, and before them were set down the *bebaktan*. The priest sat facing east, facing the shrine (to Betara Gangga). He began by the prayer dedicating himself (as on page 24), placing a flower in his ear — it was necessary to do this in case "something dirty might have fallen on his head on the way," so that it would be quite sure he was sufficiently pure to minister to the gods. He followed this with the dedication of the bell, and the sprinkling of the offerings with the "ordinary water" brought from the temple. At the same time an assistant poured out water from the *tjaratan*, onto the ground.

Then the priest prayed (*sesontèng*):

Balinese Version

Pakoeloen Padoeka Betara Ratoe Betara
Gangga, kénak Padoeka Betara, Ratoe
Betara Nagasari djagi mekokobok, sepian
Padoeka Betara angatoerang sarining
Asep menjan madjagaoe tjenana, pingkalih

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*796 793 [782] [539]

Angatoerang sarining kekoerah pewadjikan,
Moeang pengersikan, tigasan.
Wong tjang tjemana nama nama,
Wong serija mawantoe soeka mawantoe.

Sanskrit[18]

om śaṃ śamaniya namaḥ
om śreyo bhavatu
om sukhaṃ bhavatu

English

Om, blessing, O thou who art to be appeased, obeisance.
Om, may there be prosperity,
Om, may there be happiness.

[796] In this prayer the priest addressed Betara Gangga telling him that the gods of Nagasari had come to bathe (*mekokobok*), and that he, the priest, was offering the brazier of incense, the face-washing and shampoo (*kekoerah*) and the hand-washing vessels (*pewadjikan*), together with the toilet-table (*pengersikan*) and the wardrobe (*tigasan*). It will be noticed that in the prayer the terms for these ritual objects differ from those in ordinary use. (The *tjanang rébong* is called in prayer *tjanang sengkang*.)

After this, he took up from the *pengeneng* offering a bit of the *tepoeng tawar* and *sesarik* mixtures, and the bit of thread, and cast each one in turn before him, onto the offerings — although in fact these attentions were supposed to be given directly to the god Betara Gangga, as the accompanying prayers state:

[782] *Pakoeloen Padoeka Betara titijang angatoerang Padaeka Betara sarining tepoeng tawar, setangan kekiwa tengen.*

[539] *Wong Padoeka Betara titijang angatoerin padoeka betara sarining sesedep, sedadan kekiwa tengen.*

Wong katoeran Padoeka Betara sarining tetebas, sedoeoerin kekiwa tengen.

Lord God, I offer you the essence of *tepoeng tawar*, on each of your hands, left and right.

Wong, Lord God, the essence of *sesedep* (*sesarik*), on each breast, left and right.

Wong, the Lord God is given the essence of *tetebas* (*teteboes*), upon the head, left and right.

The formula "*Wong serija mawantoe soeka mawantoe*" followed the offering of each, accompanied by the sprinkling of water.

Now an assistant took up the *lis*, and this was prepared, purified, dipped in the bowl of water, and waved towards the god with the prayer. Then the priest took up an offering-cover (*saab*) of *lontar* palm and wafted the essence of the *soetji* and *pendètan* offerings toward Betara Gangga, praying:

[18] Sanskrit edited and translated by Dr. Andrew Yarrow.

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Wong roewa soetji roewa soetji
Sarwa kemo kara tiwa
Jetija jedian dija misandi
Sarwa manion para soetji.

This was followed by the offering of the *tjaratan*, symbolizing the washing of the gods' hands after eating, with the formula:

Wong serija mawantoe soeka mawantoe.

and the pouring out of palm-wine and rice-wine, with the prayer:

Pakoeloen Padoeka Betara katoeran Padoeka
Betara sarining sadjeng sari (berem),
Sadjeng djamboel (toeak) moeang sadjeng
rateng (arak).
Wong joerastoe ja nama soewaha.

The priest and his assistants lifted their hands to their foreheads three times, in a reverence to Betara Gangga. (*mepamit* — asking permission to depart.)

The water which they had brought was then poured through the spout of the shrine, to fill the bowl and the drinking-vessel.

Turning about now — for all this time they had had their backs to them — the priest and his assistants faced the gods still held upon the heads of their bearers. Lifting first one and then the other of the *bebaktan*, the priest wafted their essence towards the gods, and again they raised their hands in reverence, this time to the gods of Nagasari.

This was an occasion on which it was not at all clear that the little figures were being given a symbolic bath and toilet, for the priest performed the ceremony in such a way that all the attentions and perquisites seemed to be offered to Betara Gangga, God of Water.

Now the procession of the gods, with all their regalia, wound its way back across the fields to the temple, again accompanied by singing and music. Arrived at the temple, they did not enter the gates, but stopped in the space without (*djaban poera*) for a ceremony known as *pemendak*, the reception of the gods.

Dance of reception (Méndèt, pemendak)

Married women and girls who had taken part in the procession gathered at one end of the open space, to dance before the gods the *méndèt*, bearing the offerings and regalia. They were dressed not in the stylized costumes of professional dancers, but in the formal temple dress, bound from breast to hips in a tight band of brocade, their breasts covered with a scarf, their hair arranged in a formal coiffure with many flowers, and their skirts drawn down to pass between their ankles in a long trailing train, displaying the brilliant color of the underskirt as lining.

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*796 [535] [782] They danced in pairs, the first two carrying the brazier and the *tjanang rébong* in their right hands, their left arms slowly lifted and extended in the traditional figurations. They advanced, circling and passing each other, until they reached the feet of the gods standing there, and the priest gently wafted the essence of their gifts towards them. Then another pair advanced, and another, dancing with the water-bowl and jar (*penastan, tjaratan*), with an offering of rice and one of meat (*rajoenan, oelam*), with an offering of cake and one of betel (*sanganan, tjanang*), and finally with the palm-wine and rice-wine mixed with *arak*.

[776] The offering of such a series is called *taboeh*, in regard to the dancing and the music — one piece, one playing. This, the priest said, was to the gods of Nagasari, male and female. When it was done, the women began to dance again, bearing the same regalia but a new set of offerings, this time for the *gendaroewa* in the *Panggoengan* (temporary shrine). This second *taboeh* was a different dancing figure, corresponding to a different melody played by the *gamelan*.

*796 793 781 [708] *Reception of the gods (Pemendak)*

8:00 p. m. With the gods still held upon the heads of their bearers, the offerings and instruments again set down upon the mat before them, the priest seated himself and went through once more the dedication of himself, of his bell, and the sprinkling of the offerings with the water just fetched from the "spring." With this he uttered the prayer noted above (page 24). He continued:

● [539]

Balinese Version

Wong djang dji goeda ja nama
Wong tjang tjemana ja nama
Wong serija mawantoe soeka mawantoe.

Sanskrit[16]

oṃ śaṃ[17] *jīvaśuddhāya namaḥ*
oṃ śaṃ śamanīya namaḥ
oṃ śreyo bhavatu
oṃ sukhaṃ bhavatu[18]

English

Om, blessing homage to him who lives purely[19]
Om, blessing, O thou who art to be appeased, obeisance.
Om, may there be prosperity,
Om, may there be happiness.

[16] Sanskrit edited, translated and annotated by Dr. Andrew Yarrow.
[17] By emendation. The Balinese version *djang* would probably represent Sanskrit *yaṃ*.
[18] This line substituted for "*oṃ ... śivagrīvāya namaḥ*", translated "Om, ... homage to him of the beneficent neck (Śiva, or: to Śiva's neck).
[19] i. e., Śiva.

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These three lines accompanied the offering of the bowl and the water-jar. They should be used every time the water-vessels are offered.

Then he intoned:

Pakoeloen Padoeka Betara Sakti Nagasari, kénak Padoeka Betara, titiang ngatoerang sarining asep menjan madjagaoe tjenana, kepéndak déning Betara Sami, moeang widiadara widiadari.

Lord Holy Gods of Nagasari, be pleased Lord Gods, I offer you the essence of smoke of incense, *madjagaoe*, and sandalwood, may it be received by all the gods and by the *widiadara* and the *widiadari*,

as he wafted the smoke of the brazier towards them. This is the invitation to the *widiadara* and *widiadari* to descend.

Asking pardon (Ngaksama)

After this he "begged their pardon" (*nawegang*) with the *sloka* wafted with a flower:

Wong sama samoewem mahadéwa, sarwa perani winta karem, mamontjah sarwa papébioh, pala soewa soewa suda siwem.

Om. Have mercy on me, Great God (Śiva), O benefactor of all living beings! Free me from all evils, protect me, O Sada-Śiva! (see page 30)

He sprinkled water from the toilet-tray, repeating the formula given above with the bowl and water-jar. This he said was offering the toilet-tray and the wardrobe. Then he prayed:

Lord Gods, King Lord Holy Gods, be pleased Lord Gods to partake of the essence of the *pemendak* offerings, together with the *widiadari-widiadara*.

Wong joeratoe ja nama soewaha.

This accompanied the wafting of the *péndètan* or *pemendak* offerings, consisting of two sets, containing cakes, rice, peanuts, and *tjanangs genten*, *tjanang gantal*, and *tjanang rébong*. The libation of *arak berem*, and *toeak* followed, with the repetition of the appropriate prayer. (page 39)

Invitation to the nymphs (Noentoen gegaloeh)

Now the priest called for the *gegaloeh*, the little figures of palm-leaf prepared in the morning, to be brought out as representatives of the *widiadara-widiadari*. They were fetched from within the temple, and around their bodies was wrapped a long skein of red, white, and black thread (*benang seridatoe*) to which was attached a string of 1,000 *képèngs* (Chinese cash). The two little girls who carried the *gegaloehs*, aged 8 and 9 years, were in this way bound together by the skein of thread. This pattern is one which we have observed in other districts (Iseh, Selat) not associated with *gegaloeh*, but called *penoentoen* (*noentoen*, escort). And at cremations, the thread tied to the spear set in a coconut which leads the procession is also called *penoentoen* (Bedoeloe, Nèstanan). Here

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the priest said that the thread and the money formed as it were the bridge over which the gods could pass, followed by the *widiadari-widiadara*, and the *gendaroewa*, on their way into the temple court: "*Pinaka titin Ida Betara keiring baan widiadara-widiadari moeang gendaroewa, patjang loenga ke djeroan.*" He said also that the tying up of the *gegaloeh*, and the calling of the *widiadari-widiadara* to be seated in the *gegaloeh*, were covered by the term *noentoen gegaloeh*.[20]

Ground offering (Segeh agoeng)

Now, while the figures of the gods and the *gegaloehs* stood by, it was in order to make the special offering to the demons, the *segeh agoeng*. On a mat spread before the *Panggoengan*, the high temporary shrine set up outside the gate, were the *sesantoen* offerings, a chopping block, a large knife, a coconut scraper and a live young chicken. The priest told us at the time that this offering was for "the *gendaroewa*, the subjects of the God of the Goenoeng Agoeng" — the very same for whom the *Panggoengan* shrine is set up. But the prayer which he utters at the time names more specific demons, of the *kala-boeta* class, who receive their offerings invariably upon the ground, not placed up in the *Panggoengan* as do the *gendaroewa*.[20a]

The ritual consisted in the breaking open of the coconut with the big knife, removing the coconut meat, grating it fine; chopping upon the block mixed spices (*basa-basa*), and stirring these together with the coconut. Then the priest took up the little chicken, sprinkled it, and wrung its neck. A bit of the blood which flowed he mixed with the coconut and spices to complete the *lawar*. This he scattered on the ground, together with a handful of uncooked rice. His prayer ran:

Ih Kaki Jama Radja, Kaki Jang Meradja, Kaki Banaspati Radja, oendoerang sewadoewan nira kabeh, I Boeta Kekawa, I Boeta Ari-ari, I Boeta Seliwah, iki tadah sadjin nira.

[20] In certain districts the term *noentoen* is used for the "smoking" of people over the brazier to bring them into trance. (N. Bali) But here the *gegaloehs* are not smoked, nor have we ever seen a ritual performed with them suggesting the remains of such a rite.

[20a] The name of these last is derived from the Sanskrit *gandharva*. Dowson, in his Hindu Classical Dictionary, includes the following pertinent information: "The Gandharvas generally had their dwelling in the sky or atmosphere, and one of their offices was to prepare the heavenly soma juice for the gods. They had a great partiality for women, and had a mystic power over them. The Atharva-veda speaks of 'the 6333 Gandharvas.' The Gandharvas of later times are similar in character; they have charge of the soma, are skilled in medecine, regulate the asterisms, and are fond of women. Those of Indra's heaven are generally intended by the term, and they are singers and musicians who attend the banquets of the gods." (pp. 105—106.) Also, under Loka, "The Sānkhya and Vedānta schools of philosophy recognize eight lokas or regions of material existence", among them, "Gandharvaloka, of heavenly spirits." (p. 179—180.)

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O Grandfather Jama Radja, Grandfather Jang Meradja, Grandfather Banaspati Radja, I am offering to all your many subjects, Mr. Demon Spider, Mr. Demon Afterbirth, Mr. Demon Seliwah, Here is the food for you.

He ended with the libation of palm-wine and rice-wine, and *arak*, with the usual formula, and

Wong joerastoe ja nama soewaha.

(The offering of *seyeh agoeng* is one very often called for and administered to people in trance, when they have been entered by a demon.)

Circumambulation of the outer shrine (Ngilehin Panggoengan)

Now a procession formed, a single file — the bearers of the gods, the ceremonial parasols and spears, the regalia, and the *gegaloeh* bound together with the skein of thread. The women sang as this procession slowly circled three times around the *Panggoengan*, clockwise, or, as the Balinese put it, "going to the right." Thence the procession passed through the temple gate and into the inner court.

Cleansing of evil (Bia kaonan)

There, standing in the center of the court, the gods were put through one final purification rite before they might "be seated." This was the *bia kaonan*, and is in its essentials the very same as that performed upon a bride and bridegroom at their *mesakapan*. Their nails are dabbed with chicken blood, the nails of the hands and of the feet, then scraped with a bamboo blade, and brushed with a little brush of coconut husk. An egg is rolled upon their bodies, and a lighted torch of dry palm fronds waved about their feet, to smoke them. These attentions are followed with the three purifying substances, *tepoeng tawar*, *sesarik*, and *teteboes*. A brush of palm-leaf (*peboeoe*) is used to sprinkle them. For the gods, these ministrations are merely symbolic — the priest does not actually touch the little figures with the substances, but takes up one after the other and gestures in the air with them, facing the gods. In fact, he has no evidence that the ministrations are intended for the gods, for although he begins by offering them the toilet-tray, saying

Wong Padoeka Betara, katoeran Padoeka Betara pengersikan

he has no formulae to repeat while this part of the ritual is carried out. The acts he refers to simply thus: "The gods are dabbed with chicken blood" (*Ida betara tjolekina getih siap*).

When he is dedicating the *sesorohan* offerings,[21] he says:

Pakoeloen Sang Boeta Kala Mertijoe, Sang Boeta Kala Ngadang, Sang Boeta Kala Tjengkingan, Sang Boeta Kala Ngintip, Sang Boeta Kala Ngélo, Sang Boeta

[21] *sesorohan — toempeng* 3, *koelit sesajoet, toeloeng, penjeneng, peras.*

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Kala Mantjawarna, iki tadah sadjin nira, sira soengan amangan anginoem, amatah rateng, adjak seroewing sesanak.

Wong joerastoe ja nama soewaha.

In this prayer he calls upon six demons by name, telling them, "Here is your food, finish it up, eating and drinking, the raw and the cooked, together with all your subjects and children."

It is significant that all the necessaries for this rite are placed upon the ground, as if indeed only the *kalas* were concerned. But then why do the gods attend? It would be possible to interpret the rite in a mystical manner, suggesting that the gods are cleansed of evil (*kaon*) which is in them in the person of the *kala*, each god being made up, as man is, of an evil and a good part. But neither the priest nor any of our friends in the village ventured any explanation whatsoever. Indeed they speak most cheerfully of the gods' having their nails scraped, brushed, etc., for since these things are done to people, they see no reason why the gods should not require them too.

Seating the gods on central shrine (Melinggih)

The giving of the *bia kaonan* offerings was finished off, as usual, with *tetaboeh*, libation.

(*Asking pardon-Ngaksama*)

Now the priest chanted the following *sloka*:

Balinese Version

Wong sama samoewem mahadéwa
Sarwa perani winta karem
Mamontjah sarwa papebioh
Pala soewa soewa sada siwem.

Poepoeh wem, papat kem,
Mahem papat, sembah hem,
Terehinem sarwa papébioh,
Inantjit mamarep satoe.

Sata joewa kawika dosa (or, *kawi kedosa*)
Sata joewa kawika mama (or, *kawi kemama*)
Sata joewa kawi dosa
Tat peramana sama samoewem.

Sanskrit[22]

om kṣamasva mām mahādeva
sarvaprāṇihitaṃkara
mām moca sarvapāpebhyaḥ
pālayasva sadāśiva

[22] Sanskrit edited and translated by Dr. Andrew Yarrow.

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pāpo 'haṃ pāpakarmā 'haṃ
pāpātmā pāpasaṃbhavaḥ
trāhi māṃ sarvapāpebhyaḥ
kenacid mama rakṣatu

kṣantavyāḥ kāyikā doṣāḥ
kṣantavyā vācikā mama
kṣantavyā mānasā doṣāḥ
tat pramādaṃ kṣamasva mām

English

Om. Have mercy on me, Great God (Śiva), O benefactor of all living beings!
Free me from all evils, protect me, O Sada-Śiva!

I am an evil man, I am an evil-doer, of an evil soul,
sprung from evil (or: a source of evil).
Rescue me from all evils! By any means let him protect me!

May my sins in my body be forgiven, may my sins in speech be forgiven,
May my sins in mind be forgiven! My negligence, then, pardon!

The essence of these verses he wafted towards the gods with a flower — and the gods "were seated." They were replaced upon the central shrine, the *Pepelik*, to sit in state viewing the proceedings. Their followers, the *gegaloeh*, did not sit with them, but were placed in a different building, the *Pengaroeman*. This would be the polite and fitting procedure if they were people accompanied by attendants of lesser standing.

Orchestra players' feast (Sekaha gong ketegakan)

9:40 p. m. It was now twenty minutes to ten, and the ritual which we have been describing had been going on without a break since the gods were taken down from this shrine to go to the bath, more than two hours before. A slight pause was welcome. During the period which followed, the members of the orchestra were given a feast, at the expense of the *bandjar*, to recompense them for playing.

Now for a time the members had nothing much to do, for the priest had a long ritual of prayers to get through before their assistance would again be needed. They were free to wander about outside the temple, sampling the wares of the pretty vendors, gossiping, perhaps taking a turn at one of the gambling tables. Or, if they were too dressed up to move freely, as were the *méndèt* dancers, they sat about on the various *balés* in the temple, chatting, rearranging their hair and their scarves, until it should be time for them to dance again. But no one could go home, for they were expected to stay through the night at the temple, doing full honor to the gods.

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Invocation of the gods from five directions (Ngeredana)

*796 About eleven o'clock, a bamboo platform or couch (*pelangkan*) was brought out and set down in the center of the court facing the shrine where the gods sat. Upon this the women spread the offerings for [780] *ngeredana*, the usual *soetji* set, and the brazier and water-vessels, aug- [778] mented this time with a large clay pot (*pajoek pengeloekatan*), a dipper made from a fresh coconut, the meat still lining it, with a handle of the sacred *dadap* wood, still green (*siboeh pepek*), and a rice-steaming funnel of basketry (*koeskoesan*).

*796 793 11:15 p. m. The priest took his place on the couch facing the *Pepelik* (central shrine) among the offerings, and began to pray, while a group of women gathered around him singing (*mekidoeng*). He began by dedica- [778] ting himself, his bell, and the offerings by sprinkling them with a flower, intoning the usual prayers (page 24). Then he repeated the formula for *tetangi* (page 29) waking or asking the gods to stand, through the medium of the smoke of the brazier, and continued thus:

*796 793 539 782 *Pakoeloen mangkin manoesan Ida, angatocrin Padoeka Betara toemoeroen, makapangoendang Betara Jang Déwa Gana malinggo maring koekoes menjan madjagaoe tjenana, pangoendang para Betara ring Mertja pada, toemoeli tedoen Betara ring Kajangan, pada iniring déning déwa sanaka poetoe, moeang watek Gendarocwa widiadari widiadara, mangètan ring pasamoewan.*

Teka ring désa poerwa, malingga Ida ring patarana selaka, mapoepoel ring pasamoewan, moeang widiadari widiadara.

Raoch Ida ring désa daksina, malingga Ida ring paturana tembaga, mapoepoel Ida ring pasamoewan.

Raoch Ida ring désa pantjima, malinggo Ida ring pataruna kantjana, mapoepoel Ida ring pasamoewan.

Raoch Ida ring désa lor, malinggih Ida ring patarana wesi, mapoepoel ring pasamoewan, moeang widiadari widiadara.

Ring tenguh raoch Ida Goeroe Déwa, ring Kajangan Sakti, malinggih Ida ring paturana emas, ratna amantjawarna, pada iniring déning watek nata déwata, moeang widiadari widiadara. Pada katoeran Ida déning manoesa, moeang pada amoekti banten, soemirit sarwa soetji, ring Kajangan Sakti.

And when they have reached the village at the south (*Désa Daksina*), let them be seated on the copper seat, gathered on the meeting-place.

And when they have come to the village at the west, (*Désa Pantjima*), let them be seated on the seat of gold, gathered on the meeting-place.

And when they have reached the village at the north (*Désa Lor*), let them be seated on the seat of iron, gathered on the meeting-place, together with the *widiadari* and *widiadara*.

And when they have reached the center, Ida Goeroe Déwa, in the Holy Temple, let them be seated on the seat of gold studded with precious stones of all colors, followed by the hordes of all the minor deities (*déwata*), and the *widiadari* and *widiadara*. To all of them offerings are given by the people, and all receive their share of the offerings, sufficient and of various kinds, in the Holy Temple.

[796] All the gods are invited to earth (*mertja pada*); straightway to descend to this temple (*Kajangan*), all together, followed by the minor deities their children and

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grandchildren, and the hordes of *gendaroewa*, *widiadari* and *widiadara*, all to be gathered in the east on the meeting-place (*pesamoewan* — the *Pepelik*).
And when they have come to the village at the east (*Désa Poerwa*), let them be seated on a seat of silver, gathered on the meeting-place, together with the *widiadari* and *widiadara*.

This long prayer the priest intoned to the accompaniment of his bell, which he rang steadily throughout the "invitation." He followed it with the rather clumsy execution of a few *mudras* (*moedras*), the intricate language of hand gestures inherited from the Hindus, of whose meaning he has not the least idea. He calls this not *memoedra* but *medjaja-djaja*.

Then, holding in his hand a rolled up leaf and flower (*kalpika*), he sang the *sloka*:

Wong sama samoewem Mahadéwa
Sarwa peroni winta karem
Mamontjah sarwa papébioh
Pala soewa soewa sada siwem.

Om. Pardon me, Great God, who is merciful to all living!
Free me from all evils, protect me, O Sada Siwa! (see pages 30, 41, 44, 45)

He offered the water-bowl and jar with the formula:

Wong djang dji goeda ja nama
Wong scrija mawantoe soeka mawantoe.

Om, blessing homage to him who lives purely
Om, may there be prosperity, may there be happiness.
(see pages 39 and 26)

Making holy water (Mekarja tirta)

Now followed the making of holy water, begged from all the gods who had just been called, and from the demons, using the same prayers as those for the making of holy water preceding the *metjaroe* (pages 22–23). But he added, this time, a piece in a different rhythm (*saroeti*) of whose meaning again he had no idea:

Wong Gangga Sindoe Sarasoewati, goewawa ring darma wenadi, sarwa bala soemahenda, kana kama soewatang wenaka, nederang desti nendakijem, poernijem poerna djanlé soewati, nemangalem darpa dedéwi, poernem dara nior mamoernem, namato dia wisoewajem, déwi ko déwi kadjatijem, Siwa merta amastoeté, kaderantjani djata késé.
Ari doewété nama nama, menadi atoer najajem, déwa déwi dija ganem, meroe peredaksina rteh, poerwa to gana mamoenem, sama kelesa winasajem, sarwa moentjar dadi berata, soeraksaja nama lemamah.

Then spoken:

Atoera kelesa winasajem asoewantjana nama namah.

The holy water, thus made, was of two kinds, the *pengeloekatan* in the clay pot, and the *pebersihan*, in the bowl. The priest sprinkled the offer-

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The Priest Sprinkled The offer-
ings first with the one sort, then with the other. Then he wafted the essence of them "to all the gods, together with the *gendaroewa*, and the *widiadara-widiadari*."

Symbolic sweeping (Melis)

The assistants now took up the *lis*, and the priest prepared it with the usual ritual and prayers (see page 26). From the clay pot he dipped water with the coconut dipper (*siboeh pepek*) and poured it through the basket steamer (*koeskoesan*). A little group of assistants set out to visit in turn each one of the shrines in the temple, to purify them by the use of this *siboeh pepek*, *koeskoesan*, the *lis*, the three purifying substances, *tepoeng tawar*, *sesarik* and *teteboes*, and the *tirta pebersihan* in the bowl. They sprinkled, spilled, and waved the *lis* at each shrine, beginning with Soerja's, and ending with the *Panggoengan* outside the gate, and the two shrines on either side of the gate *Pengapit Lawang*. The meaning of this rite is thoroughly to purify the "seats" of the gods, for they are now to be asked to leave the common meeting-place in the central shrine (*Pepelik*) and to take each his place in his appointed shrine, so that the refreshments (*soetji*) may be served to them.

Seating the gods each in his shrine (Melinggih)

The priest asked the gods to be seated by singing the three *sloka* noted before (page 44) with the addition of this one:

Balinese Version

Ina arep ina padem
Ina mantera tan tewantja
Ina bakti ina widi
Sada siwa namastoesté.

Sanskrit

Hīnākṣaro'hīnapado hīnamantras tathaiva ca
Hīnabhaktir hīnavidhiḥ sadāśiva namo 'stu te.

English

(Though I am) lacking in syllables, lacking in words,
And also lacking in sacred formulae,
Lacking in devotion (*bhakti*), lacking in ceremonial,
O Sada-Śiva, homage to thee!

The *koel-koel* (slit-gong) was now beaten loudly to call the gods to the feast.

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Giving the feast offerings (*Ngatoerang piodalan*)

Beginning with the offering of the water-jar, with the formula:

Wong djang dji soeda ja nama
Wong tjang tjemana ja nama
Wong serija mawantoe soeka mawantoe.

(see page 40)

the priest prepared to dedicate the *banten piodalan*, the *pièce de resistance* of the feast. He himself had not moved from his place on the couch facing the central shrine, neither had the figures of the gods been changed, although they were supposed to be now sitting elsewhere. He offered the set of *soetji*, one for each shrine and the two *Panggoengans*, with the following *sloka*:

Wong roewa soetji roewa soetji
Sarwa kema karatiwa
Itija jedijan dia misandi
Sarwa jabijan tara soetji.

Then the "eating of food" (*angarang wali ajoenan*), as the *lontar* puts it, although these terms are unfamiliar to the offering-makers, was accompanied with this *sloka*:

Déwa boekti maha soengkem
Boedjanem para mekeratem
Déwa boektijem maha toestem
Bokterelaksana ja nama soewaha.

The priest sprinkled the offerings, wafted their essence, and poured the libations (*tetaboeh*). Now the gods had been served, he continued, without leaving his place, to dedicate the special offerings of roast pig (*goeling bebangkit*) and all that goes with it in the two *Panggoengans*, for the followers of the God of Nagasari, and the followers of the God of the Goenoeng Agoeng. It must be said that these followers receive a bigger share of the feast than the gods themselves. These are the offerings prepared for the gods: *soetji*, *djapit*, *pengangkat*, *penjemek*, *sesajoet pegojan*, *sesajoet agoeng*, *pengoelapan pengambéan*.[23] The *gendaroewa* have placed for them in their *panggoengans* each a full set of the offerings that the gods receive, plus: *goeling bebangkit*, *peregémbal*, *peregémbal tegteg*, *banten pané*, *banten ngioe*. The priest says that the *gendaroewa* must get more, because there are so many of them.

Here is the prayer he uttered:

Pakoeloen Betari Doerga, Jama Radja, Sang Boesana Sapoesah pati, Sang Détija Sangin, Sang Raksasa Sawil, Sang Kala Karoeng, Sang Kala Kantoeng, Sang Kala Agoeng, Sang Kala Saboemi, Sang Kala Pedjagalan, Sang Kala Aoe, menadi ja nama soewaha.

[23] For a description of offerings, see page 17 ff.

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*796 At the head of the list of twelve *gendaroewa* he puts Betari Doerga. [796] She, who is honored as the goddess in many a *Poera Dalem*, here is classed with the demonic hordes because, the priest says, she is the teacher of the *kalas*. "*Betari doerga, goeroen kala.*"

[782] He ended with pouring the libations, to the north, for the gods, to the east, for the *gendaroewa* honored in the *Panggoegnan* within the temple, and to the south, for those honored in the *Panggoengan* without.

Calling down the demons, followers of Pasoepati (Pegenen)

*796 Now another offering of unusual composition was brought out by the 793 women, and placed on the ground, north of the *Pepelik*, before the 782 shrine of Soerja (Sun). This was the *pegenen*, and comprised an iron 796 frying-pan (*pengorengan*) containing six eggs, a coconut grater (*kikian*), 539 *peras sesantoen* containing 9 small skewers of meat (*kètèngan*), and 66 *képèngs*. The whole lot were placed on a bamboo frame as base (*kelatkat*). The priest, still seated on his couch, prayed from a distance while the women stirred the eggs in the frying pan — without, however, breaking them. This curious rite is called in the *lontar* "*nedoenang sahingon-hingon Betara Pasoepati*" (to call down the followers of Pasoepati) whom the priest identifies with Soerja. Intoning in the meter *saa* (*sesontèng*), the priest prayed:

Pakoeloen mangkin toemoeroen sahingon-hingon Padoeka Betara Pasoepati, Bòeta Banaspati Radja, Boeta Nawasanga, Boeta Enèngan, Boeta Adoe Ada, sarwa Boeta Boeta kabèh, pada toemoeroena sira angélingin loenggoeh, ajoewa sira anjarengin atji atjining Betara, iki pesangoewan kita, bocktinen, getih salimas, moeah segeh sokan, pagéan (pegenen) Nawasanga, sekoel apangkon, iwaka karangan, sadjeng badég berem moeah arak, adjak saroewangé sesanaké, amangan anginoem, woes amangan anginoem maloearang kita kabèh, moelih kita mangètan ring Betara Isoewara, moelih kita mangidoel, ring Betara Brahma, moelih kita mangoelon, maring Betara Mahadéwa, moelih kita mangelor, maring Betara Wisnoe, moelih kita maring madia, mantoek sira ring Betara Siwa.

Wong sidiastoe sinastoe.

In this prayer he calls four of the chief demons by name, and continues:

And together with the numerous demons of all kinds, may you all together come down, remembering your seats, don't come and mix up with the offerings for the gods, here is your food, go on and eat it (it is given to you), a coconshell full of blood, and a big *segeh*, *pegenen* in nine directions, meat in five directions, a leaf-cup of rice-wine and *arak*, together with all your followers and children, eat and drink, and when you have eaten and drunk, go away, all of you; those who go home to the east, go to Betara Isoewara, those who go home to the south, to Betara Brahma, those who go home to the west, to Betara Mahadéwa, those who go home to the north, to Betara Wisnoe, those who go home to the center (politely) return to Betara Siwa!

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The end of this rite was the priest's placing on the ground beside him a *tjanang* for the demons. He calls this *ngelocarang tjanang*, to send away the *tjanang*. Possibly it symbolizes the sending away of the demons.

Entire membership makes reverence (Watek krama mebakti)

Now the priest made a reverence (*mebakti*) to the gods. Then he called all the members of the *bandjar* present to *mebakti*. In theory a member should be present from each of the 105 households — a single member of a household represents the entire family. In reality only about 50 responded, and this was considered sufficient. Some of the women and girls who had been sitting waiting upon the *balés* plucked a bit of the thatch from the roof and rubbed it between their hands in symbolic cleaning before they knelt to make the reverence and to receive the holy water. As they lifted their hands to their foreheads in the first obeisance to the Sun the priest sang the *sloka*:

To the Sun (*ke Soerja*):

Balinese Version

Aditija soewa para djoti
Rakta tedja nama toesti
Soeweta pangken dja madiasti
Baska mara ja nama soewaha.

Sanskrit[24]

oṃ ādityasya paraṃ jyotī
raktatejo namo 'stu te
śvetaḥ pañkajamadhyas te
bhāskarāya namo namaḥ

English

Om, Supreme Light of the Sun,
O thou of red brilliance, let obeisance be to thee!
Your lotus-middle is white.[25]
Obeisance, obeisance, Thou Maker of Light!

He offered the water-jar with the formula:

Wong serija mawantoe soeka mawantoe.

The second obeisance was made to Iboe (in the *gedong*), and accompanied by the *sloka*:

To the gods of origin (*ke Iboe*):

Wong parama Siwa ratoe jem
Siwa tatoewa para jana
Tjandi soja namastoeti
.....

[24] Sanskrit edited, translated and annotated by Dr. Andrew Yarrow.
[25] *Pañkaja*, literally "mud-born," refers to the lotus blossom, which opens in the light of day and closes at night.

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And the third time, the *bandjar* members make the reverence to Betara Nagasari (also in the *gedong*) with this *sloka*:

To the gods of the temple (*ke Betara Nagasari*):

Balinese Version

Wong kerija ina bakti
Kerija mahe soewarem
Tatpoedji namah dèwem
Pari poerna tedas namé.

Sanskrit[26]

oṃ mantrahīnaḥ kriyāhīno
bhaktihīno maheśvara
yat pūjitaṃ mayā deva
paripūrṇam tad astu me

English[27]

Om. (Though I am) lacking in prayers, lacking in religious acts,
Lacking in devotion, O Maheśvara[28],
(However lacking in all things) what is offered by me, O God,
May you reckon as complete.[29]

Members receive holy water (Ngeloekat)

Now each member was sprinkled with *tirta pengeloekatan*, then sprinkled with *toja pengelangsoehan*, the *banjoen tjokor*, "washing-water of the gods" (see pages 31, 35). Into their cupped hands a little of this last water was poured out three times, for them to drink, to rub over their faces, and their hair.

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Refreshments with dancing (Méndèt; gabor)

12:00 p. m. It was midnight and the order of the ritual had reached such a point that the entertainment of the gods might begin. This was

[26] Sanskrit edited by Dr. Andrew Yarrow

[27] Translation by Dr. Andrew Yarrow (first two lines) and Dr. R. Goris (last two lines.

[28] Śiva, lit., Great God.

[29] Dr. Yarrow suggests that an alternative (and in his opinion, less probable) translation of these lines is:

What is revered by me, O God,
May I obtain that completely.

Actually the difference hangs on the word *poedji*, or *puji*. We are reminded that, according to the Abbé Dubois, the word *Pūjā* in Southern India referred to the whole sequence offered to the god, from the invocation, the reception, the invitation to be seated, the washing of the feet, the bath, the offering of clothing and perfume, of food and betel. In Bali, the sequence is almost identical. "Worship," or a series of devotional attentions, may be referred to.

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Contests (Miasa; mebiasa)

1:30 a.m. Now came the contests, for, the priest afterwards explained, the gods delight to watch any sort of combat (*mepaloe*) just as they enjoy a cockfight. Set before the central shrine (*Pepelik*) was a bamboo couch, flanked by two ceremonial parasols and two spears, their long shafts stuck into the ground. On the couch were laid the various objects for the fray, drawn up in two opposing lines, *kadja* and *kelod* (inland and towards the sea). On each side was an egg, a coconut, a skein of thread, a ring of coins bound together to form a shape like a collar (*pipis djan*). On the *kadja* side were ranged as well the *tjaratan* (water-jar) and the bottle of *arak*, while on the *kelod* side were the smoking *pasepan* (brazier), the bowl of holy water (*penastan*), and the bottle of rice-wine. In the center of the couch was a space, left clear, for the battleground.

The first encounter was not particularly spirited. A young women took up the drinking-vessel from the *kadja* side, and another young woman the brazier from the *kelod* side. They danced a few steps circling the couch, passed each other, then spilled from the jar and wafted the smoke, and returned the objects to the couch. Now Rawi danced again with the water-jar, and Teer with the bowl. Again they sprinkled and spilled, and replaced the objects. But in the third joust there was more action. The two women took up each an egg, danced about and passed each other; then, facing each other across the couch, they rolled the eggs towards each other, knocking them together. Now Rawi's egg was placed on the *kelod* side and Teer's on the *kadja*, having exchanged places. They followed this with a similar match, coconut against coconut, again exchanging the places when they had been knocked together. Rawi then pitted her skein of black thread against Teer's white thread, with a similar outcome. The ring of money joined battle against the other ring, and they changed places. Finally the *arak*-bottle challenged the bottle of rice-wine, and, not forgetting to spill a libation from each, the women replaced them on the opposite sides from where they had stood.[30]

Now, as a climax, the dancers took up the two parasols, which were implanted east and west. They danced past each other, crossing the shafts, and planted them on opposite sides. Finally, they lifted the two spears, crossed them, and set them in exchanged places.

(The last two encounters are the ones most commonly executed in other districts under the name of *miasa* or *mebiasa*. Usually the dancing is by men, very often in trance.)

The priest introduced the contests with this prayer:

Pakoeloen Padoeka Betara Sami, titiang ngatoerang sarining bebanten, koekoes aroem, boerat wangi, lenga wangi, moeang kala-kalaan.

Wong serija mawantoe soeka mawantoe.

[30] Part of this ritual often precedes the cockfights.

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He said that the term *kala-kalaan* refers to the contests. His explanation was, "If anyone has been entered by a *kala*, is he not angry? And if they are angry, there is a combat, they quarrel. That is *kala-kalaan*" (*Jen sampoen anak ngerangsoekin kala, ten pedih? Jen sampoen pedih, mepaloe, mijegan raris. Nika sampoen kala-kalaan.*)

Dancing of the nymphs (Ngèèd)

At this *odalan*, the rite called *ngèèd* or *nedoenang gegaloeh* followed the *mebiasa*, but at many others we have seen the corresponding rite precede it. The priest's *lontar* also gives *ngèèd* preceding *mebiasa*.

The two little *gegaloehs* were brought down now from the *pengaroeman* shrine, carried in the arms of young girls (about 12 years old, pre-adolescent). The priest seated himself upon the couch, and around him were ranged offerings of one *péndètan* set, *wewangi* (water mixed with sandalwood), and *tjanangs* containing perfumed ointment and perfumed oil (*boerat wangi, lenga wangi*).

The priest prayed to Betara Siwa, saying:

Pakoeloen mangkin Padoeka Betara Siwa, kénak Padoeka Betara sepian padoeka Betara angatoerang perekénak, moeang widiadara widiadari, moeang gendaroewa, mangkin patjang katoeran boedal. Mangkin titiang ngatoerang sarining wewangi kadoeloeran adjoeman péndètan.

Lord now Lord God Siwa, be pleased Lord God, your servant offers you entertainment (*perekénak*), and to the *widiadari* and *widiadara*, and the *gendaraowa*, because now you are about to be asked to go home. Now I offer you the essence of *wewangi* and *péndètan* food.

Then he offered the water-vessel, with its formula.

Now a line of dancers formed, to dance round the couch upon which the offerings lay. The little girls carrying the *gegaloehs* brought up the rear. They danced around counter-clockwise (or going to the left — as is appropriate in sending away the gods). As they danced the priest prayed:

Pakoeloen Padoeka Betara titiang ngatoerang sarining boerat wangi, lenga wangi.

Wong joerastoe ja nama soewaha.

The priest said, when we asked him to whom the *wewangi* was offered, "If there is no one in trance, *wewangi* is offered to the *widiadari-widiadara*, the *gegaloehs* as their *tapakan*, because their bodies are small" (*Jen ten wenten anak keraoehan, wewangi nika katoer ring widiadari widiadara, gegaloeh tapakné, déning Ida meraga alit.*)

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Ground offering (Mesegeh)

When the dancers had three times encircled the couch, they went in procession out through the gate, accompanied by the priest, who sat down facing the *Panggoengan*. There he offered a *segehan*[21] on the ground.

"Going to Market" offering (Meperani)

Now the priest called "the *bandjar*" to bring out the special *perani* offerings, one from each household. The fine for not having brought one was ten *képèngs*. The priest sat facing south, towards the *Panggoengan*, and around him, forming a great circle, sat the *bandjar* members, each with a basket before her, containing edibles.

The *gegaloeh* were particularly honored here, apparently, for their little bearers stood just outside the closed circle, behind the priest. He called out to them to hold the *gegaloeh* high in the air. In the circle were representatives of 35 households, all female with one exception. Many of them were little girls about ten years old. Probably they had been deputized to represent their families, because of the lateness of the hour. The children often sleep in the temples at an *odalan*, curled up under the platforms where the offerings are laid out. They are available, then, and may wake up for a time and take part in the ritual at any hour.

The priest rang his bell and prayed:

Papoeloen Padoeka Betara Jongi, Katoeran Padoeka Betara sarining perani.

He said that the offering, which is something like "going to market" (*memasan*) is toward the shrine of Melanting, the Goddess of the Market. A small neglected shrine to her actually stands 100 yards south of the temple, overgrown with bush.

He poured out the water from the bowl and from the water-jar, and poured the libations. Then he scattered flowers, and ordered the members to *ngaagang*, to eat a little.

Sending home the visiting gods, demons, and nymphs (Ngeloearang gegaloeh)

Now he asked the gods, *gendaroewa*, and *widiadara-widiadari* to go home:

Pakoeloen Padoeka Betara, gendaroewa, widiadara widiadari, mangkin katoeran boedal.

Wong sama samoewem Mahadéwa
Sarwa perani winta karem
Mamontjah sarwa papébioh
Pala soewa soewa sada siwem.

[21] *segehan*: cooked rice, with onions and ginger "as meat," laid out in five directions, together with *tjanang*, tray of betel, with raw rice and 'oil container,' the whole arranged on a banana-leaf.

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Om. Have mercy on me, Great God (Śiva),
O benefactor of all living beings!
Free me from all evils,
Protect me, O Sada-Śiva!
(see pages 30, 41, 44)

He told us that at this point all the guests were asked to leave, including Betara Siwa and the gods of all the neighboring temples, *Dalem*, *Désa*, *Poeseh*, etc. Those who remain (*ngadeg*) are the God of the Temple (*Nagasari*) Betara Goenoeng Agoeng and Soerja. The *gegaloehs*, now empty of *widiadara-widiadari*, were replaced on the *Pengaroeman*.

Dedication of promised offerings (*Ngatoerang penaoeran*) 796* 782

2:30 a. m. Inside the temple, a group of people had gathered with more "promised" offerings (*penaoeran*). They had been waiting for the priest to be free to dedicate them. It was possible to do this now, for [796] although the guest gods had gone home, the gods of Nagasari were the ones to which the promises had been made. The priest sprinkled the offerings and spoke to the gods on behalf of the supplicants. The people themselves then whispered prayers of thankfulness for their fulfilled requests, and made the gesture of reverence (*mebakti*) three time repeated. They were sprinkled and given holy water to drink and to put on [798] their faces and hair. A final offering on the ground (*mesegeh*), and the pouring of libations finished this business of offering by individuals.

A number of little girls, 7 to 11 years old, knelt down now to make their reverence to the gods, and to ask the priest for holy water, for they said they had not had a chance to do so earlier. It was almost three o'clock in the morning. Then, as there was no more ritual to be performed till [793] the dawn, the weary priest laid himself down on one of the pavilions, [513] already crowded with sleeping temple-members, and took a few hours' rest. The old priest, as rightful guardian of the temple, was sleeping upon the *Pengaroeman*, on a mat spread beside the platform on which the *gegaloehs* and the gods' regalia were kept.

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fines (*doea*) for whatever sort of nonconformance to the rules during the festival would be payable at a meeting of the *bandjar* following the "putting away of the gods."

The women set to work to make a fresh *lis*, a new *tjanang rèbong*, and all the complete set for the "putting away" offerings (*banten penjimpen*): *sesantoen, daksina, soetji, djapit 5, penganjaran, pengoelapan-pengambéan* (these used at the *odalan*, but the following not used there), *djaoeman 5, tebasan sidakarja 5, soejoek*. This kept the women busy till after one o'clock.

p. m. Dance (*Légong*): In the afternoon more offerings were brought as gifts, and more promises to the gods fulfilled. A *légong* performance, a dance by three little girls, professionally trained, was scheduled for the early evening. Performances such as this, or of plays (*Ardja, Topèng, Tjalonarang*, etc.) often occur as part of the *odalan* festivities. They may take place on any one of the days of the gods' visit. If the *bandjar* is rich, or if they count among their members professional dancers and actors, the performance may be hired or contributed as part of the temple dues. Or an individual may have promised to engage the players for a performance at a coming *odalan*, just as any other offering is promised to the gods if they will accede to a request.

A *sesantoen* offering was given by temple members to the visiting orchestra accompanying the dancers. Another *sesantoen* was offered to the head-dresses of the three little dancers. Several hundred people assembled to watch the performance, given in the space outside the temple.

Procession to the bath (*Ke bédji*): On this day a procession went to fetch water at the bathing place, but the gods were not taken along. The people carried the *bebaktan*, an offering of *adjoeman poetih koening*, this time all in honor of Betara Gangga alone. The priest prayed:

Pakoeloen Padoeka Betara Ratoe Betara Gangga, kénak Padoeka Betara amidja tirta kambenaloe, cepetin nira Betara Gangga, winadahan koendi manik.

Lord God Prince Betara Gangga, be pleased Lord God to vouchsafe us holy water *kambenaloe*, as the gift of Betara Gangga, in the jeweled pot as container.

Then he offered the toilet-tray to Betara Gangga, with the formula:

Wong djang dji soeda ja nama,
Wong tjang tjemana ja nama nama
Wong serija mawantoe soeka mawantoe.

(see page 40)

He poured the water through the spout of the shrine into the containers, and dedicated the offerings, saying:

Pakoeloen padoeka Betara Ratoe Betara Gangga, kénak Padoeka Betara ngakti sarining boerat wangi lenga wangi, joenan apetik sari.

Wong joeraties ja nama soewaha.

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Lord God Prince Betara Gangga, be pleased Lord God to witness the essence of perfumed ointment and perfumed oil, and the essence of the food offering.

He poured the libations, repeating the usual formula. He ended with a reverence (*mebakti*) facing to the east, not turning about as he had done when the gods were brought along.

11:00 p. m. Refreshments with dancing (*Méndèt*): At eleven o'clock, when the *légong* was finished, the *méndèt* dancing began. Once more the women and girls went through the complete series of offering to every shrine, so that their part of the night's festivities was not over until half-past one.

Calling the gods (*Ngeredana*): Then the priest seated himself on the bamboo couch before the central shrine, and began to pray. His *ngeredana*, calling the gods, differed somewhat from that on the day of the *odalan*. The gods who had been guests at the *odalan*, called from the other temples of the village, were not invited. He prayed, calling to Betara Soerja, Betara Siwa, and then "all the gods, followed by the *widiadara-widiadari*," and also to the gods who have shrines in this temple.

Pakoeloen Padoeka Betara Soerja, Ratoe Padoeka Betara Siwa, pada toemoeroen Padoeka Betara, kairing antoek widiadara widiadari, pingkalih Ratoe Goenoeng Agoeng, Ratoe Goenoeng Batoer, Ratoe Betara Ramboet Sedana, moeang Betara Brahma Betara Wismoe, kairing déning Ratoe Ngeroerah Agoeng, moeang Sedahan Pengenter.

(*Ngaksama* — the asking-pardon *sloka*:)

Wong sama samoewen Mahadéwa
Sarwa perani winta karem
Mamontjah sarwa papébioh
Pala soewa soewa sada siwem.

Om. Have mercy on me, Great God (Śiva),
O benefactor of all living beings!
Free me from all evils,
Protect me, O Sada-Śiva!

(see pages 30, 41, 44, 57)

He then offered the water-vessels, wardrobe, and toilet-tray, with the usual formula.

Symbolic Sweeping (*Melis*): After the *ngeredana* followed the *melis*, repeated just as on the night of the *odalan*. The little procession went about visiting each shrine, even to those in the outer space.

Giving the "putting away" offerings (*Ngatoerang banten penjimpenan*): Then the priest prayed, dedicating the offerings to all the gods:

Pakoeloen Padoeka Betara, Ratoe Padoeka Betara sami, kénak padoeka betara angaksi bebanten, moeang djaveman (tipat bantal), bébék siap, penek agoeng.

Wong joeraetoe ja nama soewaha.

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He poured the libations with the formula:

Paboeloen Padoeka Betara katoeroen sarining sadjeng sari, sadjeng djamboel, sadjeng rateng, lengo wangi boerat wangi.

3:00 a.m. At three o'clock he placed the *tjanang* on the ground (*ngeloearang tjanang*) and made a last reverence to the gods. Then he lay down on one of the offering stands and went to sleep.

All the pavilions in the temple were crowded to overflowing with people — men, women, children, old people, and gay young blades, curled up on the floor of the buildings sound asleep, or sitting up in a valiant effort to keep awake on this the last of a series of wakeful nights. The gayest of all were the young people, the unmarried girls who had been dancing, and who were still dressed in their elaborate costumes, the flowers slightly awry in their hair, and the young men who had been playing the *gamelan*, and now continued to whang on the instruments in a desultory way. To these young people it seemed to be an occasion stimulating to the senses — for every one knows that it is forbidden to "play about" in the temple.[1] The boys followed with their eyes the more attractive girls, to see where they found a corner to wedge themselves in and lie down — hoping to maneuver for themselves a position not too far away. There was much good-natured calling back and forth of allusions, interrupting the voice of the *sinoman* as he read out the roll-call, to be sure that on this night every household was represented in the temple.

While the lamps burned brightly, and the voices called from one pavilion to the next, one by one they dropped off to sleep.

This spending the night in the temple is called *tangkil*, the word used for "coming into the presence of" a noble. One hears a young girl ask another, "Are you going to *tangkil* tonight?" The word *tangkil* also refers to the crouching position assumed by a person of lower caste in the presence of his superior to do him honor. Applying this term to spending the night in the temple therefore suggests that it is one more way of doing honor to the gods. On the night of the *odalan* proper and the night of *njimpen* (putting away) the entire group of representatives is supposed to remain, so that it is not necessary, as on the intervening nights and the nights preceding the *odalan*, to appoint watchmen.

Dawn of the Fourth Day (Njimpen, continued)

5:00 a.m. As soon as it began to be light, people started to call out, "There's already a brightness in the east. Get up! Get up!" (*Soeba galang kangin! Bangoen! Bangoen!*). The priest awoke, and asked the

[1] The fine is 500 kèpèngs for sleeping next to a woman. The priest said that for actual misbehavior the penalty would be to take down the entire building and to carry the earth on which it stood down to be cast into the sea.

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went around three times shouting, and placing the *kumpis* on the four corners. If they stopped shouting the priest corrected them, saying, "Why are you still? Shout!" (*Kèn-kèn ngojong? Soerijak!*) He reached out and shook the posts of the building.

Giving the going-away-present; sending away the nymphs (*Ngatoerang tegen-tegenan; ngeloearang gegaloeh*): Passing out through the gate, they approached the outer *Panggoengan*. They went three times around the *Panggoengan*, going to the left, shouting and gaily rocking the posts of the shrine, "to send the gods away."[1] The priest seated himself before the *Panggoengan*, and ordered the offering on the shoulder-pole, the water-vessels and brazier to be set down on the ground. He lifted the brazier, wafted its smoke towards the shrine, and then emptied out the burning coals on the ground. From the duck and the chicken he plucked out a few feathers, and laid these on the ground (symbolizing, he said, the giving to the *kalas* of the farewell present, whose essence — *sari* — they take in these feathers). He prayed:

Pakoeloen padoeka betara widiadara widiadari, mangkin katoeran beadal. Wentèn kala-kalaan betara.

Lord gods *widiadara-widiadari*, now you are asked to go home. There is *kala-kalaan* of the gods.

This term *kala-kalaan* is the same as was used in the prayer accompanying the contests (page 55). Its use here is obscure, unless it refers to the procession around the shrines.

The priest then made a *segehan* offering on the ground (see page 56), and, as a new string of firecrackers was set off, libations were poured. He then emptied the contents of the water-vessels on the ground and scattered a few grains of rice.

He took the little *gegaloeh* figures from the children, unwrapped the bits of cloth which they wore as skirts, and tossed the figures up into the *Panggoengan* — as if, indeed, the nymphs were flying away.

They returned to the temple court. The priest took down from the central shrine the two figures of the gods. They were borne across, under their parasols, and set upon the *Pengaroeman*. All the people now present knelt for a final reverence to the gods, and to receive holy water.

The gods put away (*Betara mesimpen*): Then the little faces were removed from the base, wrapped in the bit of cloth, and replaced in the box. The son of the old priest climbed up to the *gedong* where they were

[1] It will be remembered that on the arrival of the gods the procession went round the *Panggoengan* to the right, to the accompaniment of singing. The people here apparently make the distinction between the two, for I once heard them begin to shout as they went round on the arrival of the gods, by mistake. They corrected themselves, saying, "We should be singing (*mekidoeng*), and we are shouting (*mesoerijak*)." But in other districts, as at Sindoe Intaran, the little boys who bear the spears in the procession habitually shout when they are taking the gods to the temple, as well as on their return.

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The Barong enters the temple, too, and stands over Poetoe. Beside him is Toeroen, now out of trance, and, opposite the Barong with their backs to the shrine of Durga, are the two priests, the old priest of Dalem and the priest of Patal. A smoking brazier is before them. Poetoe goes on talking in trance using ceremonial conventionalized phrases, while the priests "yes" him, saying "Yes, Lord" to his commands.

"Sangkal ada dasaran, sira mitjaang, saking isengisengan? Pirengan sangkaling kraken, sangkaling demen adjoem, sangkal ada kéné? Jan keto magilang pedasarané. Sakewanten éling medal Ratoe Pemajoen. *Pedasaran* Ratoe Doesoen *ring* Langlang Boeana, *soewood keto mara pitjaang."* ("Inasmuch as there are trance spokesmen, who accords it, by whose grace? How is it, followers, as happy and proud, it should be like this? And so the trance spokesmen go in procession. Only remember to bring forth the Lord Pemajoen (a name of the Barong). The trance spokesmen of the Lord Doesoen in the land of Langlang Boeana. That's all. No more is given.")

As he says this Poetoe's eyes are open. He leans forward a little from the waist, sways back and forth. All around, people are singing the wailing chant called *mekidoeng*, doing honor to the godly presence. They bring a scarf to put around his upper body, and a headcloth is placed, not on his head, which would be improper, but on his shoulders. (This is equivalent to the ceremonial dressing of the *sadegs*, trance spokesmen, when they perform the trance séances in the temple.) The Barong snaps his jaws. The priest of Patal takes the Barong's beard and smokes it in the brazier. He wafts the smoke, still facing the Barong. Poetoe is swaying back and forth from the waist. Again the Barong snaps.

The priest waves towards the Barong with a little fan of palm leaf. He holds a live chick out before him, dedicates it. Poetoe puts out his hand for the chick, turns to face the Barong. Holding the chick at arms' length, with one gesture he pops it straight into his mouth. He munches showing no disgust.

Toeroen, meanwhile, is given a raw egg, which he drains and throws down the shell. He puts his hands three times over the brazier and to his face. Then he turns to make a reverence to the Barong.

Toeroen is offered *arak*. He extends his hands, then crosses them on his chest, extends them, crosses them. He repeats this three or four times, as in a daze. Finally he takes it saying, *"Tiang noenas"* ("I accept"), and drinks. He is sprinkled and given a sip of holy water. He makes his reverence to the shrine of Durga. Then he turns around again and makes a reverence to the Barong saying, *"Titijang mepamit"* ("I beg permission to depart").

Poetoe turns away at once and begins to discuss his share of the offerings. He calls to someone to come and take his share, to carry it home. He is immediately quite business-like and present.

Then the Barong goes out, and all the Rangdas in their baskets, followed by all the people, who go shouting and banging on the *gamelan* down the road, home to Taman.

It is very striking that the women and young girls played no part at all on this afternoon; the whole Barong and Rangda play, with its accompanying trances, was given without their participation with the exception of the preparation of the necessary offerings. They did act as audience, and that, perhaps, is their important role when the dramatizations are being put

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*845 852 offerings with holy water. Before him knelt I Lèwèr and Ni Jungir. In the mother's arms was the girl-twin, swathed in white cloth. The father held a pseudo-twin swathed also in white cloth. This pseudo-twin was simply the dark [824] red flower of the banana plant, with the primitive drawing of a person impressed in the surface of the bud — a head, two arms and two legs roughly indicated, without attempt to denote the sex. The banana flower or bud is called *pusuh* [1]), and resembles a large heart in shape, while the name for heart in Balinese is *pĕpusuhan*, as if derived from the flower. The people of Sukawană had no other name for this substitute twin than *pusuh*, but they made it clear that it was intended to take the place of the dead boy-twin in the ceremonies.

[804] [908] Both mother and father held in one hand a knife on the end of which an onion was impaled. This 'weapon' is powerful against evil spirits, and has to be carried on all occasions when a new-born child is taken out of its own house-court [2]). I Lèwèr and Ni Jungir never let

[1]) In many districts of Bali such a "*pusuh*" is used at the ceremony called *mĕcholong* for new-born children, which takes place twelve days, forty-two days, or three months after the birth. It is one of a set of three *cholong's*. The other two are a live chicken, and a *papah*, the stalk-base of a coconut frond, on which a cross or a rough drawing of a person is made in chalk. The chicken may be stolen for use in this ceremony ... *cholong* means steal. However the ceremony *mĕcholong* is for a live child, and seems to carry the meaning of providing substitutes for the living child so that the evil spirits which molest young children will be satisfied and leave the child alone. *Mĕcholong* and this use of the *pusuh* are unknown in Sukawană. The *pusuh* in this case, the people definitely stated, was intended not for the living girl-twin but to take the place of the dead boy-twin.

[2]) This rite is mentioned in a popular verse sung to little children in Bali:

● [539] Bibi anu, lamun payu luas manjus, atĕngé tĕtĕkang, yatnain ngăbă mĕsui, tyuk puntul, bawang anggon pĕsikĕpan.

Anak lyu, bĕntjană dimargă agung, bajang alu bukal, mĕngisĕp nyonyo ngulanting, mĕngĕtĕkul mĕkrană tan pĕsu ĕmpĕhan.

Sangkan hitung, tuyuhé mĕpală lampus, ngulah bĕtĕk basang, rarine juwă ngĕmasin, dadi lachur, nyén anaké sĕsĕlang.

Sangkan lachur, numadi jĕlĕmă ĕluh, i mémé nyayangang, i bapă mĕpĕdang mati, yaning hidup, méménė anggon jalaran.

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these knives out of their hands throughout the day of the ceremony. 845* 852

A fire was burning on the hearth in the parents' room. At the Balian's direction the mother took a handful of dried corn from an offering-plate and cast it into a new clay pot which rested over the flames. She stirred the corn about until it was brown. Then father and mother had to reach three times into the pot and eat a grain of corn. [262] After the third time the father raised the pot and smashed it on the stones of the hearth.

Someone handed the father a torch of dry grass which he lit at the fire. He came out, bearing his false twin, his knife, and his torch, to set fire to his house. The mother followed with her child. The Balian repeated a short prayer, and then performed a final rite. In one of the offerings [782] stood two cones of rice tied together at the top with a bit of thread, a *kèpèng* strung on to each. The top of each cone he pinched off, then he broke the joining thread. He rose, came out of the house, shut and bolted the door on the outside. None of the evil which was in that house must escape.

The villagers bearing torches lit from the father's fire set the house burning. In ten minutes the flames were leaping high, threatening the nearby forest. The Balian, the mother and the father, with a group of villagers and friends, [783] stood on the hillside watching until the house crumbled to ashes.

It may be translated:

Mother, whoever you are, when you go to bathe, bind tightly your breasts, take care to bring with you mĕsui bark (cortex sp.), and a dull knife with an onion as charm. [539] [989]

Many wicked people threaten on the highway, evil spirits in the form of flying foxes, which suck at hanging breasts, taking their place at the breasts, so that no milk comes out. [776]

Take into account that trouble brings death, even though the belly is filled, the baby is the cause of the trouble, and if bereaved, who will there be to envy?

The trouble is that the child was born as a girl, her mother loves her, her father would wish her dead, but while she lives, her mother will take care of her. [593]

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It was forbidden by the Rajäs, but as the people were under the rule of different Rajäs, the customs differ. 845*

"If the girl is born before the boy, of twins born to a Rajä, they may not marry, for she is older. Therefore it is not *salah* for the Jabä if the girl is born before the boy. 184 582

"Perhaps the custom arose because once a Rajä had boy and girl twins which were lucky, and once a Jabä had such twins which were unlucky. Superstition arises when people are afraid".

This young man, so superior to the superstition of the people, still admits that Jabä are *salah* if they have male and female twins of which the boy is born first. On this point he is in agreement with Idä Putu Maron, a Brahman scholar of Ubud, who said: "It is only called *bunching* if the boy is born first. If the girl is born first it is called simply *këmbar*. In this case it is not a good sign for the Triwangsä, nor is it *salah* for the Jabä. But the people do not know this. They proceed with the purification of the village just as if it were *salah*.

"There was once in the ancient Pèjèng dynasty a Rajä who was a twin. He is called Dalém Bunching. After this, the Rajä's, to enforce their power, ordered the Jabä to be *salah* when they had twins in the way of the Rajä. This was to make the people humble." 845* 173 539

When we asked this informant about the twins' sexual connection in the womb, he said that he had never heard such a thing, but perhaps it was told the people by the Rajä's to make them ashamed, so that they would realize how *salah* they were. 845* 184

Although Idä Putu Maron applies the name *bunching* only to twins of which the boy is born first, we have seen that it is generally applied to all male and female twins. But according to the lontars of Sanur and of Tabanan *bunching* is the name when the girl is born first, whereas if the boy is first it is called *silih asih*. The old men of Taro also said *bunching* if the girl is born first, and *salit* if the boy is first. The Padandä Gédé of Bongkasä also calls it *silih asih* if the boy is born first, saying that it is 845* 192 184

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fication, a larger *mĕcharu* is given for *anak kĕmbar*, with a dog, a pig, a duck and five chickens as offerings, and a Sĕngguhu officiates with the Padandă. For *anak bunching* only five chickens are offered, and the Pĕmangku assists the Padandă. In neither case do they have the *mĕlis*. 845* [182]

Likewise the caste distinctions are more strict in Kĕtèwèl, for only Brahmans and Rajă Satrya's have the right to have twins, either *kĕmbar* or *bunching*, and all the smaller nobility together with the Jabă are *salah*. The people know, of course, that their taboo on *anak kĕmbar* differs from the custom of the surrounding villages. They say it is because in Kĕtèwèl they have gods which are twins and the others have not. The idea that the figures are representations of ancient kings is unknown to them. But every village may have its own gods in its temples, which are worshipped by the people of that village, and the people of other villages have nothing to do with them. 845* 564

Part IV
What the Lontars say.

One of the Balinese lontars, called Bhagawan Garga, has in part to do with twins. A copy of this lontar was in the possession of a Padandă Siwă in Bangli, another in Gianyar, and a third belonged to the Padandă Bodă of Pĕliatan. All three priests referred to this lontar when questioned about *manak salah* or *kĕmbar bunching*. The story of the one from Bangli may roughly be summarized as follows: 845* 538

This is the story of people with boy and girl twins. 845* 539 173

The Rajă of Bali goes to meet the holy man, Idă Bagawan Lindu Tawang, in Lĕmah Rĕkă (Lĕmah Tulis). The holy man receives him at his meditation place. The Rajă takes a humble place on the lower level (*pemarĕkan*), but when he has introduced himself as a pupil of Bagawan Sunyă Murti Bali, the holy man welcomes him and leads him inside the palace. Because the Prince has followed the teachings of Bagawan Sunyă Murti Bali, the holy man gives him his daughter in marriage.

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Sang Mpu Pradah (the holy man) becomes Teacher-Priest in Maospait.

Now Idă Mpu Kuturan had a son, called Idă Sang Bujanggă Bali, who in turn has a son already three months old, in appearance like a perfect jewel, his body perfect, he has no flaws. Mpu Kuturan gives him the name of Idă Batară Guru. Because he is the son of Idă Sang Bujanggă Bali, he must become the teacher of the Rajă's of Bali. When Idă Mpu Sunyă Murti (Mpu Kuturan?) had explained how he became superlatively *tri murti*, pure, he died and went back to the home of the gods.

It is said Batară Bagawan Indră Chakru (the child above called Idă Batară Guru?) taught the Prince of Bali. When the pupil had learned what the teachings were, Bagawan Chakru died. The Rajă addressed his people thus: If there are people in the country of Bali who affront the Rajă by having twins *bunching*, the country of the Rajă becomes unclean; if twins *bunching* are born in the land of Bali, within the limits of the village, every house of man, every man is unclean in the unclean village. If it happens, they are banished by the people of the desa, far from the village. They must be placed at the crossroads where it is lonely, they may not come near the village. Up to the time of the ceremony, the country of the Rajă is threatened, the meditations of the Rajă are disturbed, rice is dear, plantings do not prosper, water is scarce, there is famine in the country of the Rajă. After forty-two days' time, these people must have the purification — *prayaschita, tĕbusan, amancha panggungan, linukatan (ngĕlukat); ngĕlungah* at dark moon, *mĕkiis* at full moon, in the presence of *Bujanggă* and *Siwă* (interpreted Sĕngguhu and Padandă Siwă), each of these must officiate, so that the microcosmos and the macrocosmos may be purified. Moreover the galungan festival may not take place for three times, if it is not three times stopped, calamity to the Two Worlds, many beasts fall dead, all the plantings fail, the meditations of the Rajă are burned up. If the right way is strictly followed the Two Worlds become prosperous, the beasts and plantings healthy. If a Rajă or a *Bujanggă* or a *Brahmană* has twins *bunching*, the country prospers and there are no disasters.

[183]

After this, the king died. He who became king was one of boy

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and girl twins. He prayed and prayed, he studied and meditated to become holy, he prayed at the Gunung Agung, day and night he fasted and did not drink nor sleep, for he was in real ascesis. He concentrated in the *lumbung* (sanggar) on the Gunung Agung (Bĕsakih) on the day of full moon in the tenth month, together with the Bujanggă and Siwă (Pedanda's Bodă and Siwă), as witnesses. This was the behavior of the Rajă, meditation on the *lumbung*, in order that the rule of the Rajă's of Bali should be strong and long-lasting.

It will be seen that this "story" is far from clear, and Balinese scholars themselves do not seem to understand it. The various names given to the characters cannot be definitely identified with those to whom they refer. And other obscurities of language are interpreted according to the prejudice of the reader. For instance, in the passage "if there are people in the country of Bali who affront the Rajă by having twins *bunching*" the word *wong*, meaning simply people, is taken by the authority from Bangli to mean "people of Sudră or Wésyă caste". Another would interpret it to mean only Sudră's, another all people except the Rajă himself and his priests, as stated later on in the passage. But this again is not clear, for the phrase *Sang Bujanggă Brahmană* is extremely obscure and open to many interpretations. *Bujanggă* is a title claimed not only by Siwă and Bodă Padandă's but by Sĕngguhu's as well. Sĕngguhu's would here claim that the word Bujanggă refers to them, and the word Brahmană does not modify it, that is, giving immunity from *manak salah* to Sĕngguhu's *and* to Brahmans. When referring to the celebration of the ceremonies, the phrase *Bujanggă Siwă* was interpreted Sĕngguhu and Padandă Siwă — when referring to the meditations of the Rajă, Sang Bujanggă Siwă was interpreted Padandă Bodă and Padandă Siwă. I merely call attention to these discrepancies so that the reader may take them into account. It will be noted that the name of the king who was a twin is not disclosed.

The Iontar Bhagawăn Garga has a further passage on twins:

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*895 Bhagawath Gargo has a further passage on Twins: The lontar
1783
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It is the way for people with wrong children (*manak salah*), male and female born, to be banished by the people of the village, to be sent out from the house, to be placed at the graveyard, for a month and seven days they remain at the graveyard and may not return home to sleep. After the time is up they may come back to the village, and have the ceremonies *amalukat, maprisaddi, madudus déning chatur kumbă* = purifying (bathing) with water from the four Vessels, at the big crossroads (here the offerings are enumerated)... the ceremony *padudusan* (bathing) to be accompanied with *mantrā's* (prayers) of the complete *prayaschitā* i. e. *Sayam Brahmă, Ganastawă, Bhuwanéçwari, Nadayă, Astupungku.*

They must make the *Sanggar Tawang* (bamboo shrine for the gods). (The offerings are enumerated, both to be put up in this shrine for the uranic gods (*suchi*) and to be set out on the ground for the chthonic gods (*charu*)). Those who officiate are *Sang Siwă* (Padandă Siwă) and *Sogată* (Padandă Bodă), offerings *daksinā* and *pras.* As soon as the people are purified (*adudus*), the house in the graveyard is burned, is sprinkled with holy water, using the necessary offerings *prayaschitā* and *sēsayut.* When this is done, the uncleanness of the people with twins is erased. Then they may go back to their house. This is required by divine law.

(More about the offerings) ... and the possessions of the people with twins may not be taken and used for ceremonies nor for *charu* before they have been purified (*malukat*). After they have been purified the festivals may go on in all the temples. And the people of the village are forced to contribute according to their means (*nistă, madyă, utamă*, poor, middle, rich). The people who have twins must beg for contributions in ten *Balé Agung's* before the ceremony *malukat*, but they may not sleep in the villages.

*895 Here we find in two different passages of a single lontar sets of rules which do not correspond. The first text which the Rajă expounds to his people, banishes the twin-family to the crossroads, the second text names the graveyard. In the second no mention is made of *ngēlungah*, nor of *mēkiis.* Although we found *mēkiis* (carrying the gods to the sea or to the river) or *mēlis* customary in most villages after

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the birth of twins, we were told in Klungkung and in Kětèwèl that it was not done there. It will be noted that in the Bhagawan Garga lontar, the Rajă tells his people that three galungan's may not be celebrated after the birth, although the later section does not speak of it. Another lontar, from Tabanan (Kabă-Kabă) specifically denies the restriction. And as I have told, the Padandă Bodă from Pĕliatan recommended this measure in a case of twins there, but his advice was not followed, and I have never happened to find a case where the stopping of three galungan festivals did occur.

Rarely one finds the time of banishment for the family of twins extended to three months. In the old village of Trunyan, for instance, twins of unlike sex are placed at the *trugtug*, where the dead are not buried but only exposed, for three months (*sasih*), whereas twins of like sex are only banished to a hut in the fields outside the village limits, for forty-two days. J. de Vroom apparently was told that *manak salah* entails banishment to the graveyard for three months of thirty-five days [1]). And the Sĕngguhu Rĕsi Nabé from Pĕdjatèn (near Tabanan), who is a most famous priest and teacher of Sĕngguhu's, and whose pupils practice all over South, North, and West Bali, also said *bunching* twins were to be banished for three *sasih* months of thirty-five days. We found in the following fragment of a lontar from Bulèlèng, *Sima déça Bulèlèng*, the time stated as three *tilĕm*, or dark moons, which is of course not the same thing as three *sasih*.

If a full member of the society of the Balé Agung, or a person living in the desa Bulèlèng, begets *anak salah* even though they are Brahman, Wésyă, Satryă, or 'people of the fields', it makes the country dirty, the entire village. They must be banished (temporarily) by the villagers, and placed at the *talugtug* (junction of three roads) of the graveyard, and the house of the 'wrong ones' must be brought there, for three dark moons. As soon as three dark moons have passed, the wrong ones must purify the

[1]) J. DE VROOM, *Aanteekening uit eene Balische Adversaria. Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* Vol. XVIII.

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village as above, *anapuhin prayangané tiga çakti* (purify the Purá Balé Agung, Purá Dalĕm, Purá Puseh); and they must *mĕkils*, and give a feast to the villagers, including a performance of the gamĕlan gong. Before the country, the entire village, has been purified, and the offerings made to the gods *katiga çakti* (of the three temples), they may not worship the gods. The offerings are dedicated by the Sĕngguhu. If this is done, all is well with the country, if it is not done, the gods may not be worshipped, the ceremony *angrasakin* (for the agricultural gods) is forbidden, making the rice-goddess *Nini* in the fields is forbidden, that is called the country impure (*sampĕt*), all the ceremonies must not be. If this ruling is disobeyed, the fine is 22,500 (kèpèngs).

It may be noted that the Bhagawan Gargă lontar specified *ngĕlungah* at dark moon. If this took place on the dark moon following the forty-two days of exile, it might very well fall on the third dark moon after the birth. The following lontar from Tabanan also places *ngĕlungah* at dark moon. It has much to say about the names and varieties of twin-births:

[114]

If twins are born with one *ari-ari* (placenta) it is called *tunggal* (one, single); if they are male and female, and the female has no *ari-ari*, the name is *tunggal* male. If the male has no *ari-ari*, the name is *tunggal* female. If there is only one *ari-ari* it is not necessary to banish the people, for it does not make impure. But they should have a ceremony... (here the offerings are enumerated, specifying what the father of the twins must give, and that the villagers must help to contribute what the father cannot supply). He should have the ceremony, because it is called *kĕnchĕlan ing dèwa* (a dirtying of the gods). This is the way of the ceremony.

And if both have an *ari-ari*, but one is born *mahĕlatan* (later, separated by a space of time from the first child), it is also called *tunggal*, everything thereafter is *tunggal*, the offerings *tunggal*... The people should bathe in *yèh suddhămală*, *yèh mangĕning* (water from sacred springs).

The rules for *manak salah* follow, giving the offerings required for the purification (*sasakapan*) at (1.) the *kubu*,

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the hut of banished family, (2.) the *kamulan*, the household shrine at their original house, (3.) the *pĕmpatan*, the cross-road(s), (4.) the *pĕkĕn*, the market place, (5.) the *blulangan yĕh*, an island or piece of land with water running on either side of it, (6.) the *Balé Agung* temple, and (7.) the *balé pĕgat*, the building where the birth of the children took place. The ceremonies are performed by a Padandă (*brāhmana*) and a Sĕngguhu (*yajamāna*), in order to rid the country of the evil (*pāpa*). If these rules are not obeyed, disasters and epidemics increase.

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And if triplets *(katijuru)* are born, they must be banished to the sea-shore. If there are two boys, famine and illness to the country. Other people (not the parents) should take them up and have the ceremony for them. They should be taken up and a ceremony performed at the Balé Agung.

If there are two girls and one boy, it is not necessary to banish them, for it is said to make the country fertile.

This is the way of the désă Kabă-Kabă.

This is the law, if there are two children born in one day, and the girl is born first and the boy after, it is called born *bunching*. Because the *bunching* birth is an affront to the Rajă, the country is dirtied, they must be banished and placed at the big crossroad(s) for 42 days. The people of the village must put up *sawèns*, signs of pandanus, before every courtyard gate. When the time is up, the people who have made the village unclean must have the ceremonies *masakapan amanchă panggung, ngĕlungah* at dark moon, and after *ngĕlungah* the people of the village must *mĕkiis* to the sea at full moon.

The people who have made the village unclean must surrender all their utensils for the ceremony to the head of the village, money 10,100, rice 200 measures, and the other offerings for the gods (*widhi-widhāna*), and fire-wood, arèn-leaves, cocanut leaves, bananas, laths.

There follow instructions about the offerings. The father is to go begging for three days, asking contributions. But it does not say to beg in a number of other Balé Agung's,

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*845 as I found costumary in many other places — in Taro, eleven Balé Agung's, in Tĕgĕs Kawan (Pĕliatan) the same 184 number, in Sanur seven, in Kutri (Singapadu) three, in 983 Bongkasă, Ubud, and according to the Bhagawan Garga, ten. Then come directions for *mĕkiis* to the sea, and the statement that after the village is entirely purified, *galungan* may be celebrated for three times. This seems to be a denial of the rule found elsewhere that the *galungan* festival is to be three times held up.

Next we have another sort of twins:

And if two children are born in one day, and the boy is born first and the girl afterward, it is called *salilyasih* (*silih asih*, exchange of love). This does not dirty the country, it "washes" the [539] queen, it blesses the country below and above.

And if anyone has twins (*manak salah*) which dirty the country, they must be banished by the villagers and placed at the big crossroads for 42 days. All the people of the village must put signs of pandanus before all the courtyard doors. When the time is up, they must have *matatĕbasan* at dark moon, *amancha panggung* called *manglungah*, offerings and full honor to the gods as before, let none be lacking.

*845 Then are given the offerings for *pracharu* for *manak salah*, to be set out at the Balé Agung, the crossroads, the marketplace, the spring or bathing place, the balé where the birth took place, and the household shrine. Once more the instructions for *atatĕbasan* at the Pură Dĕsă, then *mĕkiis* to the sea at full moon. It is specified that the village must make the *charu* according to custom, building the *sanggah tutuan*, and [983] all the villagers must be purified with the *lis*, and give honor to all the gods.

An explanatory sentence, referring to a section above, says that a birth is called *hĕlatĕn* when one, two, or three *da'uh* (period of an hour and a half) intervene between the appearance of the two children, even though both come in the same night. This was called *hĕlatĕn* in olden times.

Lastly, the births called *bunching* and *silih asih* are of

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triwangsā people (high caste, Brahman, Satryĕ, or Wésyă), and according to the prince in the palace at Tabanan, all those who are not of high caste are *salah*.

That is the end of this unusually full lontar regarding twins. Recently a case of twins born to Chinese people living in Bulèlèng occasioned discussion of the various customs in the Balinese magazine Bhawanagara [1]). One author recommends the *adat* from Kabă-Kabă, Tabanan, as a good one to be followed, and quotes from a lontar originating there. The quotations are in modern Balinese, but must be taken either from the same lontar which I have summarized, or from a transcription of it, for it agrees on all points with the other text. Although not so full in directions for the ceremonies, the various differences in the births, with their special names, correspond — for one placenta, for a difference in time between the births, for the birth of the boy first, or the girl, for triplets of which two are boys, and triplets of which two are girls, and the same distinction between ordinary people and those of high caste birth. The lontar is very generous in the exemptions from *manak salah* which it allows. Firstly, all high caste people seem to be exempt, not only the king and the high priests as we found before. Then any birth which can be called "single", either because there is only one placenta, or because the children are born with an intervening time period, does not seem to require banishment. And of boy and girl twins, if the boy is born first, it is a good sign — although the last paragraph suggests that this does not hold good for Sudrā's.

A Brahman scholar of Sanur made the following report after consulting the lontars of his Padandă:

If in Bali Sudră people have twins *manak salah*, it is called *bunching* when the girl is first and the boy comes after. This is said to threaten the safety of the country, and so the children

[1]) *Bhawanagara*, Taboen III, No. 8 (1934). *Pertanja'an tentang adat*. p. 126 and *Indik Manak Salah*, p. 127.

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* 845 ● 539 and the mother and father must be moved to a hut at the crossroads or on the seashore, until the children are 42 days old, in Balinese called *nyĕpi* (this term is usually applied to the yearly purification of the village, after a *mĕcharu*, when the people retire to their houses and leave the streets "lonely", so that the bad spirits will depart). And the villagers of a single Balé Agung put up signs of pandanus before the middle of the door of each courtyard, and it is called *sĕbĕl*, unclean, within that village. [983]

Before the arrival of a favorable day (*dĕwasă*) for *nyĕpi* the father of the twins must beg alms of the people of seven different Balé Agung's, asking contributions for the ceremony to purify the country, and the people of a single Balé Agung (his own) must help him. The father must provide money to the amount of 10,100 kèpèngs, rice, coconuts, eggs, and so on. [431]

As soon as the children are 42 days old, the people of the single Balé Agung must make the offerings *charu* and *mĕkiis* to the sea. The names of the offerings and the *charu* depend upon the estimate of the Padandă and the desire of the villagers, for example, *manchă walikramă*, *malik sumpah*, *manchă sanak*. The *charu* is celebrated by a Padandă Siwă and a Padandă Bodă, assisted by a Sĕngguhu. [982]

As soon as the offerings are completed, the children are purified (*kĕjayă*) at the Balé Agung, at the temples, at the market-place, the river, and the sea, and only after this may the children be taken home to their house. [983]

Likewise if people have twins *manak salah*, but the birth happens differently, so that the boy is born first and the girl afterward, that is called *silih asih*. In this case, according to the explanation of the lontar, no uncleanness results, but an obscure statement suggests that it brings evils and misfortune just as *bunching* described above.

The explanation of the lontars further states that when people have a boy and a girl born at the same time, but with only one placenta, one of the children is "wrong", *salah*, and it is not called *bunching* nor *silih asih*. Thus:

1. If the girl brings the placenta and the boy does not, that is called *kĕmbar tunggal* (twins single), which means that it is as if both were girls.
2. If the boy brings the placenta and the girl does not, that also is called *kĕmbar tunggal*, as if both were boys.

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Neither of these sorts of twins threatens the country. But the lontar says it is just as well to have the ceremony or the *charu*. 845* [539]

And if anyone has three children born at once, of which two are boys and one a girl, that is called *katiruju (kati-juru* in the Tabanan lontar), and is extremely dangerous to the country, and these children must be set down on the sea-shore. According to custom two of the children are cast away, and then picked up by another person, not their mother. In this case there must be the ceremony *mĕdudus* at the Balé Agung.

And if anyone brings forth one boy and two girls, they do not become *sĕbĕl* and their house is not moved, because in this case, it is said, the country begins to be prosperous and healthy, and diseases will not spread.

845* [564]

This set of rules makes apparent gradations in the wrongness of *manak salah*, so that the only really evil birth seems to be when to low-caste people a girl is born before a boy and there are two placentas — except of course in the case of the very rare unlucky triplets. And the matter of the placentas is not based on physiological fact, for if the two adhere they are considered as one. The obscurities in the texts allow room for interpretation in favor of those concerned. In a case of boy and girl twins born to Jabă people in Sanur last year, the family was not banished, no *mĕcharu* was held, and the villagers did not consider themselves *sĕbĕl*, but continued to go to the temples only because the boy had been born first. The Padandă of Intaran, and the Brahman Balian, who normally should have officiated, did not approve of their omitting the ceremonies, and said that at the latest the people must have a *mĕcharu* during the ninth month (four months after the birth).

A report has been made in the magazine *Bhawanagara* covering the ancient adat of two Bali Agă villages in the district of Bangli, Bu'ungan [1]) and Lumbuan [2]). The an- 845* [214] [184] 193 [113]

[1]) Idă Bagus Adiptă, *Menjelidiki adat-adat koena didésa-desa dalem bilangan negara Bangli. Bhawanagara*, Tahoen III, No. 4-5, 1933.

[2]) Idă Bagus Adiptă, *Menjelidiki adat-adat koena didésa-désa dalem bilangan negara Bangli. Bhawanagara* Tahoen II, No. 8-9, 1933.

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*845 184 173 cestors of the inhabitants of these villages lived in the district of Karang Asĕm, but in a time of war with Bulèlèng the people moved *en masse* to the present sites in the Bangli district, bringing with them their lontars, sacred objects, and the rules for their whole complex social organization. In Bu'ungan the rules for twins are reported as follows:

[539] If anyone bears twins which are two males or two females (*anak kĕmbar*), as soon as these children are aged one month and seven days and as soon as the ceremony *tutug kambuhan* has taken place, at once must be the ceremony *mĕsakap* (*matĕlah-tĕlah dĕsă*) at the crossroads, performed by the *balyan konèng* (trance-doctor). The offerings are the same as enumerated for marriage which wrongs the adat.

After three days the *kramă dĕsă* (group of villagers) must *mĕlis*, and the twins with the mother and father receive holy water (*mĕlukat*) to be freed from their uncleanness (*sĕbĕl*).

The expenses of this and also of the *pĕmĕndak Batarĕ* (the reception of the gods) on their return from *mĕlis* are all to the account of those who have the twins.

*845 829 825 Before we consider the rules for *manak salah*, it will be well to note what is said about wrong marriages in Bu'ungan, where the *mĕsakap*, *mĕlis*, and *pĕmĕndak Batarĕ* correspond with those for twins of like sex. It is in such connection that one wonders if the whole twin superstition does not rest, not on the idea of incest itself, but on the same basis as that for incest taboos — the concept of the way of animals in contradistinction to the way of men. For if it is the way of animals to mate with their near relatives, it is also their way to have more than one child at a time. Twins of like sex are already bad because they are born like beasts, and twins of unlike sex are worse because of the incestuous connotation, the improper intimacy of brother and sister in the womb. The Bu'ungan report definitely states the thought-connection of animals with incest:

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As regards all marriages which are thought to bring famine to the village and to make dirty the temples, according to the adat of Bu'ungan the behavior of the people who commit this wrong is thought to be just as the behavior of animals.

For example when it happens that someone marries the mother of his cousin (*rĕramă di misan*), or the mother of his second cousin (*rĕramă di mindon*), on the male or on the female side, they must have the ceremony *mĕsakap* at the crossroads of the village with the following offerings:

a. *Panchă-limă*
   bèbèk bĕlang kalung (duck)
   in the center, *nasi wong-wongan tumpĕng 10*
   one small *sorohan*
   offered to the earth (*ibu pĕrtiwi*).

b. Pig, chopped
   sorohan agung (large)
   other offerings which go with it, making a high altar (*pang-gungan*) as a place for these offerings to the Sun-god, *Suryă*.

As soon as the *balian konèng* has dedicated (*ngantĕb*) these offerings facing East as he should, at this time the man and the woman who have committed the wrong together crawl on all fours, their necks hung with the bar of bamboo in the manner of animals (pigs), the man from the south and the woman from the north approaching a *palungan* (drinking trough) made from a *dadap* tree, which has been filled with the water in which rice was washed (pig-food), the two, man and woman together drink the rice-water in the drinking trough.

The report states that before this incest rite the man and the woman must remain for a month and seven days outside the village, to the north (whereas for *manak salah* the time of banishment is the same, but the place to the south of the village). Three days after the *mĕsakap* the whole group *gĕbog satak* of two hundred villagers must *mĕlis* to a meeting of rivers, carrying with them not only the gods but all the possessions of the temple including the gamelan. All are purified with holy water from a *bujanggă*.

On the return from *mĕlis*, the reception of the gods is

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588 684 celebrated with offerings of a pig and *sorohan agung*, and performance of the *baris* dance. A feast is given to the *kramă désă* by the family of the incestuous pair. After this the two are banished from the village for a year, not allowed even to enter the precincts of the *gĕbog satak*. The penalty [782] if they disobey is the offering of a pig to the temple Pură Balé Agung and of a goat to the temple Pură Dalĕm Pingit. When the year is up they may return to the village and must go through the usual marriage ceremonies. In case the family concerned is not able to pay all these expenses [958] the village takes them over, seizing or putting in pawn all their lands until the amount is repaid.

For more serious incest, as of a man with his brother's mother, his own mother or sister, the ceremony *mĕsakap* is the same, but there must also be the ceremonies *ngĕlungah* and *mĕsadi* as for *manak salah*. The people are banished from the village for life, and the lands of the family may be seized on the male or on the female side.

We now come to the rules for *manak salah*:

*895 ● 539 782 If anyone bears *anak bunching*, male-female, it is called *manak salah*. The people of the village-quarter (*kramă banjar*) must move these people (the mother and the father and the two *anak salah*) to the outskirts of the village, on the south side, near the graveyard, with the entire house where the children were born, which must be taken apart and put up again outside the village. The people of the *banjar* take their turns helping, but in the matter of food the 'wrong ones' must make their own provision. The 'wrong ones' stay there one month and seven days.

When twelve days have elapsed after the birth of the children, the ceremony *ngĕlungah* (small *mĕtĕlah-tĕlah*) takes place inside the house-court where the children were born. Offerings *panchă limă*, celebrated by *balian konèng*, holy water from the *bujanggă*.

As soon as one month and seven days are up, the ceremony *mĕsadi* (big *mĕtĕlah-tĕlah*) takes place before the temple Pură Pĕnataran in the village of the people with the twins. The ceremony requires one small male pig and one female calf whose nose has not yet been punctured for the rope, skinned and spread

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out on the ground, together with offerings *sorohan agung* and *bayang-bayang*, all to be set out on the ground facing south, to be offered up to the gods of the sea and of the earth (*pĕrtiwĭ*). And one white goose, skinned and spread out with offerings *sorohan agung* are placed in the *sanggar tawang* (bamboo altar) for Batarā Suryā (sun). One female black goat, a duck *bĕlang kalung*, chickens of five colors (*manchā warnā*) are placed according to the five colors, white to the East, red to the South, yellow to the West, black to the North, and many-colored in the center, together with *sorohan panchā* to be offered to these gods: Iswarā, Brahmā, Mahadéwā, Wisnu and Siwā. After this to the *butā-butā*, the demons. Then one full-grown black pig skinned and spread out with *sorohan agung*, *bĕbangkit*, *suchi*, and all the various offerings which must accompany it, are placed in the *panggungan* to be offered to Batarā . . . . . (the god of the temple). During this time Batarā Sakti Bujanggā is invited to descend, to be present before the temple where the holy water is asked for. The *balian konèng* performs the ceremony called *ngantĕb*, (to deliver the essence of) these offerings.

As soon as the *ngantĕb* is over the people with twins receive holy water, and their house is also burned on the spot. Then they may return to the village, for their uncleanness (*sĕbĕl*) is erased.

Three days after this, the *kramā désā* (group of villagers) must *mĕlis*, following all the gods to be purified. The entire *kramā gĕbog satak* (200) go to *mĕlis*. The reception of the gods on their return and the putting them away is the same as was described above for marriages against the adat.

As regards the expenses of all the ceremonies, it is said that they are evenly divided, half to fall on the *kramā désā* and half on the people with twins.

So much for Bu'ungan. In Lumbuan, the other old village whose adat is covered in the *Bhawanagara* report, if *anak kĕmbar*, twins of like sex, are born, the ceremony *mĕtĕlah-tĕlah* is the same as that required in cases of *salah pati*, when a man hangs himself. Although for the suicide the house must be taken down and burned at the graveyard,

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I

1	Puniki tityang ngaturang	These Thy servant offers Thee.
2	"[ə]lis tégtég", "lis pamanggang",	"[ə]lis tégtég, "[ə]lis pamanggang".
3	busung maringgit lad-ladan,	young palm leaves cut in patterns,
4	"kuku n kambing", "talinga n pangéngéh",	"goat's hoof", . . ear",
5	"tangga ménèk", "tangga tuhun",	"stairway upward", "stairway downward",
6	"waduk", "papusuhan", "tulud",	"belly", and "liver", and "sweeper",
7	(a)nuludang lara-pataka	to sweep away illness and sin
8	ning janma manuss punika.	from all human creatures;
9	Pukulun mangkin [ngaturang].	[these] Thy servant [offers].
10	Paduka Batara tumurun,	Deign to descend, O Lord,
11	(a)ngastrènin tirta kamandalu,	and purify with tirta kamandalu,
12	urip ing Batari Gangga.	the living essence of the Goddess Ganges,
13	winadahan kundi manik.	contained in the jewelled pot.

2 lis tégtég cf 63; R pamanglang; neither of these words conveys an understandable meaning.
3 R busung ringgit lahal-lahal; this being an element of the sumbah figure.
4 A pangéngéh; neither of these words is known to me.
7 A anuludakén.
8 A punika is omitted.
12 R maka-urip. Batari Gangga = holy water, as is obvious from the hymns of praise to the Ganges recited by the pedanda Siwa after the preparation of holy water. Cf *Sanskrit Texts from Bali, critically edited with an introduction* by Sylvain Lévi, 1933, Oriental Institute, Baroda, (GOS LXVI)

II

14	Pukulun Hyang Brahma,	Thy lowly servant [entreats Thee], O God Brahma,
15	Hyang Mahadéwa, Hyang Wisnu, Hyang Siwa.	God Mahadéwa, God Wisnu, God Siwa.
16	déning kahula ngaturakén	Thy lowly servant offers Thee
17	tangga mas, tangga salaka,	a stairway of gold, a stairway of silver,
18	arona lakémés (cf 94),	[and] as leaves, fine fabrics from distant lands;
19	aturakéna komala (cf 95),	[these and] costly stones are offered,

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20 angilangang lara-wigna	to banish suffering and obstacles,
21 angamputang tirta-yasa (cf 43, 71).	to destroy with tirta-yasa.
22 tirta mĕrta, sari tirta.	with tirta mĕrta, sari tirta.
23 maka-angilangang	[thereby] to banish
24 maka mala (cf 98) wisésa kabèh;	all impurity, all that is evil.
25 wastu sidi rastu hening.	May it be so. Fulfilment. Purity.

17 H sari ning precedes tangga.
18 H aworta; T kaworta.
20 T angilir ikang.
21 22 three elegant terms for holy water.
23 H angilangang.
25 The Balinese consider the two Sanskrit words *siddhir/astu* as being *sidi rastu*; the phrase *Śiwāya namah* becomes *Siwa ya nama(h)*, which may also be varied, when spoken or written, to *(Siwa) nama ya*.

III

26	P	Aung, yrang, yrang, sah.
	E	Ong, rang, hring, sah.
27	P	néwasak Parama-Siwa ya prata ya namah.
	E	déwasak -sa-ma-Siwa ya mĕrta ya namah.
28	P	aung yrang kpung ang ong mang.
	E	ong grang ksmung ang ung mang.
29	P	aung, swatik priya lawadi mana.
	E	ong, swasti swaya sawasi namah.

The magic syllables recall the Sūrya-sewana formulas of the Siwaite priests cited by Levi, op. cit. The first two lines are the standard holy water incantation glorifying Parama-Siwa as the holy water.

IV

30 Ong Sang Janur Kuning, angadĕg sira;	Om, Lord Yellow-Green, be it Thy will to stand before me.
31 Tumurun Batara Siwa (. Brahma).	Descend, O Lord Siwa!
32 ilin klésa sĕbĕl kandĕl	May the defilements that besmirch us
33 (papa klésa)	be borne away by the stream.

30 W Sang is omitted.
31 U1 turun; S turunan. Brahma is mythologically and metrically awkward, but cp. below.
32 Ilin must stand for ilihĕn ilirĕn; the alternation of ilih and ilir also occurs in 97; cf also baru: wahu; IS [ĕ]lis; W yis-lis.
33 The meaning is clear without these words which are metrically superfluous; S papa naraka pataka, also unnecessary for meaning, but at least in conformity with the metrical pattern.

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34 mawak (ĕ)lis, mawak tĕ[n]das. Lis with a body, lis with a head.
35 ma[ha]wak Sang Aji Lasĕm; embodiment of a Prince of Lasĕm.
36 sidi rastu namah swaha. May there be fulfilment. Hail! Hail!

34 S This line is omitted, but S 36 reads mawak tĕndas, sidi rastu.
35 The legend of the Prince of Lasĕm is given in 'Dance and Drama in Bali', by Beryl de Zoete and Walter Spies, Faber and Faber, London, 1938.
36 UMW sidi rastu ya namah swaha.

The following two *mantra lis*, both with a markedly similar wording, and also corresponding rather closely to that of IV, occur in Yama-tattwa K 2328.

Mantra ngaturang lis (l. 36).	*Iki mantra lis* (l. 10b).
Om sang Janur Kuning,	Ih sang Janur Kuning,
ngadĕg Siwa Brahma (cf. 31),	turunan Siwa Brahma,
ŏlis papa klĕsa,	ŏlis papa klĕsa,
dasa-mala tĕri-mala,	sang dasa-mala tri-mala,
papa-klĕsa sang Janur Kuning,	papa-klĕsa sang Janur Kuning,
ngadĕg Siwa Brahma (cf. 31),	turunan Siwa Brahma,
wĕnang angglĕsĕng lara pataka.	kagĕsĕng dĕn Sang Hyang Siwa Brahma
. . . . .	moksah ilang nama swaha.
. . . . .	Pukulun Sang Hyang Siwa Rahtya,
. . . . .	miwah Dewa Nawa-sanga,
Nĕ katur ing suka di arĕp,	dewa n sang pĕjeh,
mantra: Ulun ngaturang	ulun angaturakĕn
i tangga rĕka, angga ringgit,	tangga mĕnek, tangga tuwun,
pinaka swaha sang para buta,	pinaka sa-apuh,
amrĕta nama swaha.	tur katur ing Paduka Batara.

V

37 Mĕnèk lis pu[rwa]' The lis is placed upright in East,
38 busung rĕka ingastuti, the embellished palm leaf, worthy of praise,
39 sin(ĕ)rang amla chatur pitu. . . . . four and seven (?).
40 *mantra*: Ong Adi Sĕsĕh, *mantra*: Om. Prince of Sĕsĕh,
41 Sang Hyang Buwana nĕrangin, Lord of the world . . .
42 malingga ring busung rĕka. fashioned in patterns cut from leaf,
43 anyambuta tirta-wasa (cf 21, 71). to banish with tirta-wasa,
44 sinirata[n] mĕ[n]chur munchar, sprinkled with the gushing jet of water,
45 anyapuhang mala-wigna. removing defilement and obstacles.

38 MS angastuti.
39 asrang amalaku, beseech, but hardly possible in this context.
40 Sĕsĕh, name of a place in Mĕngwi ... where, it is said ... prayers are addressed to a Javanese Prince from Blambangan, Pangĕran Adipati Danuningrat, because he was done to death in Mĕngwi (Van der Tuuk, Kawi-Balinesch Nederlandsch Woordenboek, I IV, Batavia, 1897 1912).
41 In the original bawana, according to Van der Tuuk erroneously for buwana.
44 Elsewhere in the *mantra* of the *pĕmangku*: munchar munchrat, as in B p. 11.

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46	Énak Sang (Hyang) Déwa ngayun ing	Joyful are the gods, reposing
47	busung tatah, busung gĕlung;	in this chiselled, rolled-up leaf.
48	wastu sirna-mala sidi rastu.	May it be so; an end to all impurity. Hail!

VI

49	Ong Sang Janur Jinipat	O Lord Yellow-Green, ...
50	jinĕpitan (dénira) Batara Guru:	.... by Batara Guru.
51	tiba mangétan dadi salaka,	In the East Thou art silver,
52	tiba mangidul dadi tĕmbaga,	in the South Thou art bronze,
53	tiba mangulon dadi kanchana,	in the West Thou art gold,
54	tiba mangalor dadi wĕsi,	in the North Thou art iron,
55	tiba marĕng madya dadi [a]-wasa,	in the Centre Thou art an alloy of brilliant hue,
56	sinĕmbah dĕ(ning) sanak putu;	revered by old and young.
57	ong rastu-rastu nama swaha.	Beit so. Beit so. Hail! Hail!

55 In the original text the line concluded with tĕmbaga wasa, but as tĕmbaga occurs in 52 it is here superfluous.

VII

58	Ong Brahma joti-jotir swaha,	Om, hail to the radiance of Brahma,
59	ong Sang Janur Irĕng mangadĕg	Om, Sang Janur stands there black,
60	ong Sang Janur Kuning mangadĕg,	Om, Sang Janur stand there yellow,
61	[ong Sang Janur Barak mangadĕg	Om, Sang Janur stands there red,]
62	ong Sang Janur Pĕtak mangadĕg	Om, Sang Janur stands there white,
63	ong ĕlis tĕgtĕg mĕdon lungsir mangadĕg;	Om, lis tĕgtĕg with garlands of leaf,
64	ong ĕlis tĕgtĕg mĕwoh mirah mangadĕg;	Om, lis tĕgtĕg with ruby fruits,
65	ya nama swaha angilangakĕn	Hail! Hail! banishing
66	sĕbĕl-kandĕl ya nama swaha.	impurity. Hail! Hail!

58 In the course of his daily ritual in honour of the Sun, the pĕdanda Siwa repeats (Lévi, op. cit., p. 19, No. 77) — Agnir-agnir-jyotir-jyotih swāhā, while holding the *dhūpa* (incense bowl), and Sūrya-jyotir-jyotih swāhā, while holding the *dīpa* (lamp).

59 The word dĕgdĕg in the original has been rendered as tĕgtĕg to correspond with the spelling in 1.2 and in conformity with the pronunciation in Ubud.

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67	*Kosokin rikin*; *mantra*:	*First the lis is shaken*; *mantra*
68	Ong trĕna, taru, lata, [gulma],	Om, dry grass, vines, and tree
69	akurambyan, kabarĕtan,	with hanging branch roots, shaken by the wind,
70	kalinusan dĕning angin (cf 82),	assailed by whirlwind and by storm,
71	angampuhang mala-wigna;	banishing impurities and obstacles,
72	Ong sidi rastu ya namah swaha.	Om, may there be fulfilment! Hail! Hail!
73	*Aturin tĕpung tawar*, *mantra*: ...	*Tĕpung tawur is offered*, *mantra*:
74	*Aturin toya ning choblong*, *mantra*: ...	*Holy water from the round pot is offered*, *mantra*: ...
75	*Aturin lis*, *mantra*:	*The holy water sprinkler is offered*, *mantra*:
76	Ong Pukulun pangadĕgan ing	Om, Thy lowly servant places
77	Janur Putih (B: Janur Kuning),	upright the pale-hued palm leaf
78	Siwa rininggitang Guru;	Siwa portrayed as Guru (!),
79	Tumurun ... utusan ...	descending as a messenger
80	Hyang Batara Dĕwa,	of the Hyang, the Batara, the Dĕwa,
81	.....	.....
82	kahalĕtan dĕning linus (cf 70),	shaken by whirlwinds,
83	umilangang ing sarwa	destroying all
84	mala-papa-naraka	defilement, sin, and vice
85	glĕh patlĕtĕh ning sarira (nira)	which corrupt the body,
86	Ong sidi rastu ya namah Siwa ya.	Om, may there be fulfilment, hail to Siwa!
87	*Lis*; *mantra*:	*Mantra for the lis*:
88	Pukulun mangadĕga	[Om!] Thy lowly servant
89	Sira Sang Janur Kuning,	places upright the yellow Palm-leaf,
90	Tumurun Batara Siwa,	Batara Siwa, deign to descend,
91	ulun angaturana	Thy servant would offer Thee
92	busung rĕka busung ringgit,	young palm leaf embellished;
93	inastu dĕ Batara Siwa,	by the mighty word of Siwa
94	arona sarwa laluwĕs (cf 18),	the leaf is transformed to fine raiment,
95	awoh ratna-komala-wintĕn (cf 19),	the fruit to pearls, rare and precious stones,
96	awit ĕmas tanpahuna(n),	the trunk to flawless gold,
97	angilir-ilirana	that the flowing stream may bear away
98	sakwĕh ing dasa-mala,	all of the ten impurities,

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99	sĕbĕl-sangkala-putĕk-latĕk	the taints, the slurs, the defilements,
100	nyanyadan talĕtĕh, masuda yn:	silt and mud; all is now pure.
101	*tutugakĕna ring sapawĕrdi*;	*The sapa-wĕrdi formula is spoken.*
102	sampurna ya mmah.	Hail to perfection!

67 102 only in K; 75 97, 100 102 in B; 87 102 in LQJF.

68 The addition of *guluna* is justified by the wording of K 475, Basma, I. 8b, which reads : buh-isuh, *mantra*: Ong trĕna-taru-lata-*guluna*, karanĕyan anglĕbur lara-rogantra Sang Kalisisan.

81,2 K and B kalabĕtan ing janma manusa (hindered by mankind) this being followed in K with the line: kalabĕtan ing sarwa dĕwata, which I find unintelligible in this context.

82 From K 226 I, 12b.

83 B mangilangakĕn.

84 B pataka for naraka.

85 B gĕlĕh sariranira.

87 Q ngaturang lis; J pangastawa ning lis; F mantra n lis; K caris kosoking lis; B mangesokang lis.

88 B the line begins with Ong; Q angudĕga; K pangudĕgan ing.

89 K Sira is omitted; KQB Sang is omitted.

90 LJKB tmun.

91 FB ulun is omitted; K Pukuhm ulun; K angaturakĕn; B angadĕgakĕn.

92 F husung marĕka husung maringgit; K lis rinĕka rininggit; B lis husung marĕka husung maringgit.

93 QJ roma; F anggĕna; K makaroma; B maĕrom.

96 KB tanpa-tuna; LQJ tanpa-hudan; KB This line is followed with the addition ya ta ñugeen ing ulun.

97 Q angilih)ilirana; F angilih ilibana, B angilirakĕn.

98 K su-mala

The dasa-mala, the ten impurities, are designated by Sanskrit words, but in the more erudite manuals of the Brahman priests the significance of these words is different from that denoted in the texts for the *pĕmangku* ritual, as in the following example (A p. 6, B p. 8) —

ginamĕl dĕning wong dharmah,	disturbed by an unclean being,
kalĕtĕhan dĕning otak,	besmirched by toilet powder,
karuruban dĕning roma,	when hair falls on thee,
kahibĕran dĕning ayam,	when a cock flies over thee,
kalangkahan dĕning asu,	when a dog steps upon thy body.

I have never seen all ten listed.

99 J kandĕl for sangkala; F sĕbĕl sangkala is omitted; K the line begins with papa.

100 Q alĕtĕh; J alĕtuh; F latĕk; KB lĕtĕh-lĕtuh; FB masuda ya is omitted; K kapurisuda ya.

101 Lévi (op. cit., p. 27) cites the two ślokas with the sapta-vṛddhi formula as an optional addition to the Mṛtyunjaya (Triumph-over-Death) śloka. These two verses, given below, are apparently so well-known to the *pĕmangku* that their inclusion in the *pĕmangku* manuals is unnecessary —

āyur-vṛddhir yaśo-vṛddhir,	Greater measure of long life and fame,
vṛddhiḥ prajñā-sukha-śriyam;	of wisdom, happiness, and good fortune,
dharma-santāna-vṛddhiś-ca,	virtuous deeds, and prosperous dealings,
santu tē sapta vṛddhayaḥ.	may these be thy Seven Enhancements.

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yāvaṅ Mérau sthitā dévā,	For as long as the Gods dwell upon the Méru,
yāvaṅ Ganggā mahī-talé,	for as long as the Ganges flows on earth,
candrā[r]ko gagané yāvat –	for as long as the Sun and Moon are in the sky,
tāvat-tāvat (vi)jayī bhavét.	may these favours be given Thee.

101 K dénira Batara Siwa; B this line is omitted.
102 F kasampurna; K waluya (B wastu) paripurna ya namah swaha.

The following lines, possibly a shortened variation of VIII, occur in the MS Ligya K 71 1. 10b.

Pangadēganing Janur *Kuning*, tumuruna Hyang Batara Dewata, anambētana janma manusa.
Angadēgakēn lis, tumurun Hyang Brahma, Hyang Wisnu, siddha mur tayé namah swada.
Ong bang Bamadéwa, Batara Bayu angilangakēna lara roganira sang ingēlis lisan.

IX

103 Om Sang Hyang Karpa-taru!	Om Divine Wishing Tree!
104 Duk ing swarga suralaya.	When Thou didst wander in Paradise,
105 witnira kanchana.	there Thy trunk was of gold
106 pangnira kanchana.	there Thy branches were of gold
107 rondonira pralambana.	Thy leaves were of silk.
108 wohnira manik komala (wintēn).	Thy fruits were pearls.
109 Turun pwa kita ring Madyapada.	Thou didst descend to earth
110 mandadi janur	there becoming a *janur*
111 mangēlung. janur mahiyas.	with hair arranged and with jewels bedecked.
112 janur swéta. janur rakta.	white janur, red janur.
113 janur pita. janur irēng.	yellow janur, black janur.
114 janur amañca-warna.	janur of many colours.
115 Ulun aminta sihira.	Thy servant beseeches Thee
116 angēluwarana sakwèh	to banish all afflictions and
117 ing lara roga sangut (masunggut?)	ills that beset us (?)
118 sangkala ning gēring kringking(?)	pain and sorrow ....
119 kriya upaya manusa (kabèh);	inflicted on us by mankind.
120 Om dirgayur tat astu astu swaha.	Long-lived. May it be so!

An apparently shortened version comprises only certain of these lines –

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103 Om Sang Hyang Karpataru.
104 mijil saking swarga-suralaya.
110 mandadi janur (*sambat silih tunggil rupa/warnanipun*, that is, each form and colour is named).
116 angilangakēna
117 mala-pataka-nē kang kmēlis-lisan.

107 pralambana is probably used instead of pralamba in order to preserve the metre.
108 wintēn appears to be merely explanatory and superfluous.
111 The wording suggests personification.
112 113 The colours of the Gods of the four directions, and
114 those of the Supreme Being in the Centre.

Cp. Walther Aichele, *Oudjavaansche Bijdragen tot de Geschiedenis van den Wenschboom*, Djawa VIII, 1 & 2, 1928, pp. 28 40, translated from *Festschrift Meinhof*, Leipzig, 1927, pp. 461 476; in English: *The Paradise on Earth in Lēṅkā* (*Old-Javanese Rāmāyaṇa XXIV*, 87 126), BKI 114/3, pp. 265 291.

The composition of the *lis* may well vary in other areas from that observed in Ubud, and may include additional or different elements relating to religious concepts. It is also possible that further texts of *mantra lis* may come to light[13a] in new or better versions. Nevertheless, I hope that I have succeeded in conveying something of the religious feeling, the creative capacity, and imaginative ingenuity, which characterize the culture of Bali.

[13a] The *mantran lis* cited by Swellengrebel op. cit., do not provide any additional material as these comprise only the lines 14 17, 94 98, and 101 of the examples given here.

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Batara Guru heard the voices of the mortals . . .

Sang Hyang Sri spoke to Batara Guru saying: 'Lord, let it be your will to intercede, for else the world of mankind will come to an end. Let us descend, mounted upon the bull, to the earth below, to the crossroads where Kala dwells'.

The High God and Sang Hyang Sri, disguised in the likeness of Gopa and Gopi, descended to the earth. Kala saw the pair approaching and spoke, saying: 'I have seen you both and now I am going to devour you'.

Gopa and Gopi answered, saying: 'O grandfather Kala, be not hasty. Hear us first, for we would propose that our fate be decided by a riddle'.

Kala assented, and Gopa and Gopi then posed the riddle: 'There is a bull with three heads, and six eyes, with eight hooves, with twice the organs of the male, and with a single vulva'.

Long did Kala ponder. The hours passed and still he was silent. The sun sank from sight and still he had not solved the riddle. Kala was outwitted and he began to weep with rage.

Then Gopa and Gopi returned to the abode of the gods.

The role of Gopa and Gopi recalls the myth in which it is related that Siwa took the form of a Kumara Gopala and in this guise lay with Uma in the fields [32]. The fact that the goddess is named Sang Hyang Sri in the Chapa Kala is of particular interest as an indication of the developments traceable in Balinese mythology.

It will be noticed that the numbers referring to the mortals devoured by Kala correspond to the number of spouts on the various *kumba charatan* and again, in the Buda Kachapi, to the number of tiers of the *mérus* associated with the respective deities. These references make clear the meaning of the *panglukatan*, purificatory formula, quoted below [33], consisting of five verses of which all lines are of eight syllables. It runs as follows:

Ring *Purwa* Bumi Kamulan,
kamulan Hyang *Mahéswara*,
Wétan palungguhanira;
putih katon rupanira,
putih kang sinandangira,
putih kang tinadahira;
toya mijil saking ukir,
ahêning akila(t)maya,
winadahan kundi manik,
akumba charat *lalima*;
aparan ta kriyanira?
anglukata dasa-mala.

In the *East* where the beginning is,
there whence came *Mahéswara*,
in the *East* is His abode;
white of body is *Mahéswara*,
clothed He in *white* garments,
eating of food, *white* in colour *;
from the mountain streams forth
water of immaculate transparency
to be stored in a jewelled pot,
a jewelled pot with *five* spouts;
for what purpose is this done?
it is done so that the ten impurities
may be cleansed away.

* to whom *white* offerings must be presented.

[32] Th. Pigeaud, *De Tantu Panggêlaran, een Oud-Javaansch Proza-geschrift, uitgegeven, vertaald en toegelicht*, doctoral thesis, University of Leiden, The Hague, 1924, p. 77/147. Illustration in my paper 'The Myth of the Young Cowherd and the Little Girl', to be published shortly in the BKI.

[33] Text obtained from the *rêsi bhujangga* or *sêngguhu* priest of Bandjar Gablogan, Séla Madêg district, Tabanan.

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The four subsequent verses refer, in turn, in the same wording, to Brahma, Mahadéwa, Wisnu and Siwa, giving the appropriate cardinal points and colours and the corresponding number of spouts on the jewelled pot

2. *Dakṣina* Bumi Kamulan,
kamulan Batara *Brahma*,
Kidul pahungguhanira;
abang katon rupanira,
abang kang sinandangira,
abang kang tinadahira;
toya mijil saking ukir,
ahĕning akila(t)maya,
winadahan kundi manik,
akumba charat *sanga*;
aparan ta kriyanira?
anghukata dasa-mala.

3. *Paschima* Bumi Kamulan,
kamulan Hyang *Mahadéwa*,
Kulon pahungguhanira;
kuning katon rupanira,
kuning kang sinandangira,
kuning kang tinadahira;
toya mijil saking ukir,
ahĕning akila(t)maya,
winadahan kundi manik,
akumba charat *papitu*;
aparan ta kriyanira?
anghukata dasa-mala.

4. *Uttara* Bumi Kamulan,
kamulan Batara *Wisnu*,
Lor pahungguhanira;
chĕmĕng katon rupanira,
chĕmĕng kang sinandangira,
chĕmĕng kang tinadahira;
toya mijil saking ukir,
ahĕning akila(t)maya,
winadahan kundi manik,
akumba charat *patpat*;
aparan ta kriyanira?
anghukata dasa-mala.

5. Ring *Madya* Bumi Kamulan
kamulan Batara *Siwa*,
Tĕngah pahungguhanira,
mancha-warna anggĕnira,
mancha-warna sandangira,
mancha-warna tadahira,
toya mijil saking ukir,
ahĕning akila(t)maya,
winadahan kundi manik,
akumba charat *lukdu*,
aparan ta kriyanira?
anghukata dasa-mala.

The *kumba charatan* stand on a round plaited tray *(têmpèh)*, a posy *(kwangèn)* being placed beside each pot and in each a *plawa* (Cf supra), a bunch of leaves with purificatory powers. In addition a lotus shape cut from a palm leaf is laid on each of the pots on which are also hung Chinese coins, one for each spout.

The repetition that is such a characteristic feature of Balinese offerings is again apparent here. Next to the *têmpèh* with these five earthen pots is another *têmpèh* on which are five coconuts, a *nyuh bulan* (moon coconut white) in the East, a *nyuh udang* (prawn coconut red) in the South, a *nyuh gading* (ivory coconut yellow) in the West, a *nyuh mulung* (black coconut) in the North, and in the Centre a *bunggrak* (young coconut) *suda-mala*. In the *bunggrak suda-mala* is placed a miniature holy water sprinkler, the *buku*, comprising the most essential components of the *lis*[34] but lacking the long strips of leaf which are the characteristic feature of the *lis*. It resembles a miniature broom. The *buku* is also used with purificatory offerings in the rice fields and on such occasions it is made, not by a professional offering maker but by the wife of the farmer.

The symbol of the *nawa sanga*, already expressed with the five holy water pots and the five coconuts, is repeated again on a third *têmpèh* with

[34] Cf. supra, note 3.

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*783 778 holding the drake and the cock. This group is preceded by the woman carrying the *lis* (which has in the meantime been consecrated by the *padanda*) and others strewing the *isuh-isuh*, and by the woman carrying the *ètèh-ètèh padudusan* on a *tèmpèh*. The procession goes first to the throne of the Sun god, placed at an angle in the corner of the temple courtyard, where *isuh-isuh* is strewn, and the *lis*, the cock and the drake, and the *ètèh-ètèh padudusan* are wafted toward Bhatara Surya, these actions being repeated at each of the seats of the gods.

*783 788 At a temple festival in Padang Tĕgal, near Ubud, I saw the *ètèh-ètèh padudusan* actually being used during the procession — men were ploughing and harrowing, while a young girl turned the spinning wheel and others husked rice.

The procession moves clockwise round each of the 'seats' of the gods, which are in this way purified. This same ritual is performed also at the *nĕlu bulanin* (the celebration held when a child has reached the age of three months) and similarly in this instance at the conclusion of the *wayang lĕmah*. It is a ritual that recurs frequently in various ceremonies, and at an *odalan* (temple festival) it is carried out both at the beginning and at the conclusion of the festival, when the gods have returned to their heavenly abodes. It will be recalled that the Latin word *lustratio* also denoted a ritual circumambulation.

In most cases our informants could not give any explanation of the Balinese rituals, but it is obvious from the texts that the function of the drake and the cock is to pick away the *dasa mala*, the evils that afflict mankind. In the Buda-Wéda [36], which sets out the funerary ritual as conducted by a Buddhist priest for *Brahmans*, *Ksatriyas* and *Wésyas*, it is prescribed that during the ceremony of *anuhun pada* [37], the following mantra be recited over the two birds —

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> Om! A cock dedicated to Batara Iswara; a hen dedicated to Batara Wisnu;
> May they peck away and fly off with the impurities and the sins of him who is being purified;
> Om! A drake dedicated to Batara Brahma; a duck dedicated to Batara Mahadéwa;
> May they peck away and fly off with the impurities and the sins of him who is being purified.

The Wéda Purwaka [38], includes the following variation of this *mantra*:

> May Thy will be done! The cock [dedicated to] Batara Iswara; the hen [dedicated to] Batari Ratih;
> Pecking away the defilements and the sins of him who is being purified;

[36] K 2255 I, 57 b; this text corresponds to the Leiden MS. Cod. Or. L.B. 4165 p. 64.

[37] K. C. Crucq, *Bijdrage tot de Kennis van het Balisch Dooden-ritueel*, doctoral thesis, University of Leiden, Santpoort, 1928, pp. 63–64. Dr. Paul Wirz, *Der Totenkult auf Bali*, Stuttgart, 1928, pp. 62–66.

[38] Another manual for Buddhist priests, but dealing mainly with the more elaborate purification ceremonies K 2193 p. 9.

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May Thy will be done! The drake [dedicated to] Batara Wisnu; the duck [dedicated to] Batari Sri;
Pecking away the adhering impurities from him who is being purified.[39]

A further reference to the white drake and the cock occurs in the 'Prasasti Pandé', the Codex of the Iron Smiths. Although, according to Hindu concepts, the Iron Smiths were outside the three castes of the twice born, members of this genealogical group consider themselves as entitled to the making of holy water and even forbidden to ask the *brahman* priest for it. At the conclusion of a ceremony conducted by an *ĕmpu pandé* the drake and the cock perform the same purificatory function as at the conclusion of the ceremony conducted by the *padanda*. An extract from their manual reads:

. . . thus are all the *etèh-padudusan* named[40]. Let now drake and cock hungrily peck. *mantra*:
to the drake:
Om! Thou, white eagle, peck away one by one the ills and blemishes of him who is being purified;
to the cock:
Om! Thou who peck st away the impurities and blemishes of him who is being purified;
sam bam tam am im[41].

As a final example I cite from a text which deals with the elaborate ritual of the purificatory festival Pancha Bali Krama —

to the drake:
Om! Thou, Garuda[42]. He who is being purified dwells in the North-west; *
Peck away the defilements from him who is being purified; om um nam[44] nama swaha;
Take away the defilements from him who is being purified;
Fly off to the sea with these defilements;
There these impurities; will be dissolved;
om am ksama-sampurna ya namah swaha[45].

* the Kingdom of the Dead[43]

[39] *sĕbĕl-kandĕlanira sang dinudusan* the same phrase; not included in the Kawi-Balineesch-Nederlandsch Woordenboek, but occurring in *Dharma Pawayangan* K 1610 I. 18a.

[40] *Prasasti Pandé* K. 2404 I. 46a; also in a mimeographed edition, 'translated' by I Gusti Bagus Sugriwa, Balimas, Denpasar, 1958, pp. 45–46.

[41] The magical *pancâksara*, five letters. Cf. R. Goris, *Bijdrage tot de Kennis der Oud Javaansche en Balineesche Theologie*, doctoral thesis, University of Leiden, 1926. Cf. also Wolfgang Weck, *Heilkunde und Volkstum auf Bali* Stuttgart, 1937.

[42] *Puja Pancha Bali Krama*, K. 1186 I. 11a.

[43] In accordance with the orientation of the cardinal points in North Bali, as this text is from that area.

[44] The *tryaksara*, the three letters symbolizing the three principal deities, Brahma, Wisnu, and Iswara; Cf. Goris and Weck supra.

[45] Complete forgiveness, hail, hail!

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*783 to the cock
788 Om! Thou, Kundi-raksa! Let it be thy task to peck away and fly off to the sea
with the afflictions and the blemishes of him who is being purified;
●539 There these defilements will be dissolved;
om am ksama-sampurna ya namah swaha.

114 Although the women assistants who carry the duck and the cock do
788 not recite any *mantras* I have quoted the material I have found in the various texts, for it is not often that the purpose of a Balinese offering is so clearly indicated.

776 The drake and the cock are dedicated to the gods of the four directions
778 and they are identified with Garuda, the 'vehicle' of Wisnu. The function
825 of the birds is to peck away the *mala-pataka* (sins and impurities – but in this instance in a ritual sense rather than in a moral sense).

*783 I have also seen the purificatory ritual with the drake and the cock
[585] at domestic ceremonies *(manusa-yadnya)*, such as marriage ceremonies, and the *nĕlu bulanin*. The birds are brought to the *padanda*. On one occasion I saw one of the birds actually eating the rice grains which had
778 been placed on the arms of the bride.
825 A drake or cock which has pecked away the impurities from a child at the *nĕlu bulanin* is not – except from absolute necessity – killed by the parents for eating. The bird may never be given away, and if the child becomes attached to the bird it is regarded more or less as his own property, or rather as his personal 'scapegoat', a repository for his ritual impurities. When the bird dies it must be buried[46].

At ceremonies held for the purification of a person the duck and the cock are wafted *(atabin)* at the person being purified.

This completes the description of the *èlèh-èlèh padudusan* and the manner in which these objects are used, and the interpretation of their significance.

*783 To conclude I give the description, as it was given to me, of a maak
536 play which sometimes terminates those temple festivals where the purificatory ritual discussed above – the preparation of holy water by a *padanda*, the performance of the *wayang lĕmah*, and the use of the *èlèh-èlèh padudusan* – takes place. The maak play, performed by a single player wearing a Kala maak called *tapĕl pajĕgan*[47] or *siddhi-karya* (the succes of the ceremony) is the story of Kala who devoured mortals by the thousands at the crossroads. The climactic point is reached when the performer seizes a child from the audience as if he were going to devour it. Frightened, the child begins to cry, and is then ransomed for a few *kèpèngs*. By this means Kala's power is broken and the purpose of the ceremony is achieved.

[46] Cf. my paper 'The Changeling in Balinese Folklore and Religion', BKI 116/4, 1960, pp. 424–436.

[47] *Tapèl pajègan* or *topèng pajègan*, 23 march–1 may 1961 exhibited in Gemeente Museum, The Hague, cf. guide 'De Kunst van Bali, vroeger en heden' No. 145.